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# Vietnam Report

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TAP CHI CONG SAN,

No. 8, August 1982

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## VIETNAM REPORT

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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## IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 1-3, 10

[Editorial]

[Text] The 5th Congress of the Party confirmed that the achievements that were recorded in education over the past 6 years "are still a source of pride to our system." At the same time, the congress pointed out the shortcoming that is most deserving of attention in this area, namely, that "the quality of education has seriously declined," not only in the areas of culture, science and technology, but also in the areas of revolutionary ideals and socialist ethics.

As regards the quality of education, the greatest weakness at this time is the failure to properly prepare the young generation to become the new stratum of laborers, meet the requirements of the division of social labor, actively participate in the struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism in order to win victory for socialism and be ready to defend the fatherland. Each year, another one-half million students graduate from basic and middle level general schools who do not continue their education but who also have not received occupational training or been assigned a job. Of the students graduating from trade training schools, vocational middle schools and colleges, more and more persons are not truly ready to accept a task. Many persons who have accepted a job lack the consciousness of serving others and lack occupational ideals. The pragmatic lifestyle and personal considerations have developed among youths. There has been a decline of confidence and revolutionary enthusiasm among some youths. Even during the recent school year, many students lacked a desire to learn; many general school students quit school; and the sense of discipline and order of some vocational and college students also declined.

This situation deserving of concern has its objective causes in the difficulties encountered in everyday life, the negative influences of a period of many social upheavals and the sharp class struggle on the path to socialism.

However, examining educational work from a subjective point of view, there is a rather large number of causes that have served to exacerbate these negative phenomena. To begin with, the educational system has not been reformed and still encompasses unreasonable factors that are in opposition to the task of training

the stratum of new laborers. Moreover, within society, within many levels of the party and government and even among some educational cadres backward concepts regarding education still exist, such as separating learning from productive labor, separating learning from practical application and separating the culture from revolutionary politics and ethics. Educational work is still being dealt with in a haphazard manner, is not closely linked to the needs of the division of social labor, lacks a scientific basis and lacks the conditions needed to insure its quality. Teachers, the main characters in this work, are not being given appropriate attention; they are not receiving the necessary support in terms of their living conditions or their position in society.

The 5th Congress of the Party established the main task of the education sectors as: "Carrying out the reform of education and developing education in a positive and stable manner in stages consistent with the requirements and capabilities of the national economy and making every effort to improve the quality of education while attaching importance to providing general school students with occupational counselling."

In the years ahead, the education sectors must endeavor to create the conditions for improving the quality of education in accordance with the training objectives of the party while attaching importance to developing education in a number of areas and in a number of necessary elements.

The socio-economic factors determining the requirements regarding the quality of education are: the division of social labor needed to support agricultural production, the production of consumer goods and export activities as well as a number of related industrial sectors; the sharp struggle between the two ways of life; and the struggle against the multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists.

On this basis, while improving the quality of education, it is necessary to attach importance to ideology: we must insure unanimity based on the political line of the party and must continue the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics; as regards skills, knowledge and practical ability, we must meet the needs of the new division of labor within the national economy and the requirements of the class struggle and the task of defending the fatherland.

The development of education must be carried out in a steady manner on the basis of insuring the quality of education and by means of forms suited to each type student and each area; importance must be attached to the level I general schools and the trade training schools and education must be more strongly developed in the Mekong River Delta, the Central Highlands and the mountains of the North primarily for the purpose of creating the base for training, cadres among the local people.

While closely linking education to everyday life and production, it is necessary to develop the role played by the millions of teachers and students in developing the economy, disseminating the latest achievements of science and technology and struggling to transform society and production relations.

The improvement of the quality of education and the development of education first demand the improvement of the educational system and the appropriate improvement of curricula and training plans. While steadily carrying out the shift to the reformed educational system, it is necessary to take a step toward improving the current system of schools and classes. The programs of the general schools must be revised so that the teaching of general technical labor and occupational counselling can be incorporated in them. The middle schools must quickly be classified by type of education so that they can prepare their students to embark on a trade, with importance attached to productive labor involving technical skills. At the same time, we must not forget to improve the training of students who possess special aptitudes. The trade training schools training technical workers must be reorganized and strengthened; meanwhile, importance must be attached to holding trade training classes to support agricultural production and the production of consumer and export goods. It is necessary to open trade training centers on a pilot project basis within the precincts and districts, centers that are closely linked to the most popular trade within the locality and which are a continuation of general school. The vocational middle schools, academies and colleges must restudy their training objectives, revise their curricula and training plans and arrange their networks in a manner closely linked to each economic area. We must eventually establish for each area, for each province, a center training scientific and technical cadres in schools ranging from vocational middle schools to colleges, thereby making a practical contribution to maintaining the training-science and technology-production cycle.

We must truly intensify the ideological activities within schools. Ideological work must be part of all educational activities and must be performed through organizing the life and the environment of the school. It is necessary to improve the theoretical or political curricula in accordance with the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress and further improve the quality of the teaching of theory and the method of studying theory along the lines of more closely linking theory to practice, coordinating teachers with students and developing upon the activism of students. It is necessary to gain experience from the campaign to improve the teaching of revolutionary ethics over the past 3 years so that steps can be taken to make improvements with a view toward achieving true results as regards the attitude toward learning, the attitude toward labor, the spirit of unity, discipline and order, politeness and the civilized lifestyle. There must be close coordination among the school, the family and society. We must reorganize the political instructor elementary and advanced training system and establish a division of labor between the teachers schools and the party schools. We must establish a system of political lecturers who operate on a regular basis in order to promptly take information on current events and politics to schools at remote places.

We must build the corps of teachers and education management cadres, beginning with the contingent of principals, which is an important factor determining the quality of education. Most pressing is the need to improve the living conditions of teachers so that they can focus more of their efforts on teaching students. On the one hand, it is necessary to implement every regulation and policy of the state

and not allow the reduction of supply standards, the late payment of wages and so forth to persist. On the other hand, on the basis of the capabilities of the local government and the people, we must improve the eating and living conditions of teachers and their families and look for every way to enable teachers to increase their income in a legitimate manner. We must reorganize the corps of teachers and education management cadres and expel from the sector or transfer to another sector those persons whose specialized skills and ethics are very poor. Beginning with the next school year, we must carry out the reform of pedagogy, organize advanced political and professional training for teachers and provide school management cadres with training in practical experiences in improving the quality of education. Within the vocational schools and colleges, a policy must be adopted that encourages skilled cadres and inspires devotion to one's occupation.

We must improve the management of schools with a view toward strengthening the maintenance of order and discipline so that "the school becomes a school, the classroom becomes a classroom." Relying upon the people, we must continue to repair and maintain school buildings and teaching and learning aids. We must establish education councils on the various levels and establish uniformity regarding every position and measure for mobilizing the people to join this organization. As regards strengthening the party and Youth Union organizations within the school, deeper research must be conducted in order to develop reasonable activity regulations for the party organizations and mass organizations within schools. In the immediate future, we must elevate the leadership role of the party organization through the phase of political activities and emulation to implement the resolutions of the 5th Congress. It is necessary to provide party chapter secretaries, party organization secretaries and the principals of schools with knowledge of party building. The activities of the Youth Union must be incorporated in the overall program of the school and the Youth Union must be given the time needed to conduct its activities. Cadres who possess at least the same educational skills as teachers must be put in charge of the Youth Union and the Teenagers' and Children's Units at schools and these cadres must regularly receive training concerning the experiences of the student movement.

The education of the stratum of new, socialist persons is of decisive significance to the present and the future of the country. The 5th Congress of the Party placed the education system in the "position of foremost importance" in the entire ideological and cultural revolution. Moreover, education also has a direct impact upon the production relations revolution and the scientific-technological revolution. Now, we must concern ourselves with providing leadership on the educational front because its quality is declining. If allowed to persist, this situation will adversely affect an entire generation. The various party committee echelons must, on the basis of the resolution of the party congress concerning education and the resolution of the Political Bureau on educational reform, seriously review education during the past 6 years and place education in a worthy position in the programs of action that the party congresses on the various levels will adopt. We must concern ourselves with



everyone from newborns to the youths who will serve on the economic, cultural and national defense fronts. Preparing the young generation going into life to be ready to work and build the country, build the new life and be ready to fight in defense of the fatherland is a sure guarantee of the happiness of each family and the victory of socialism in our country.

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## BUILDING THE CORPS OF TEACHERS TO MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 4-10

[Article by Nguyen Thi Binh]

[Text] The political report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th National Congress of Delegates emphasized: "The greatest problem at this time is the serious decline in the quality of education." The resolution of the Political Bureau concerning educational reform stated: "The corps of teachers and education management cadres is the key force in education and makes a decisive contribution to the success of educational reform." Therefore, one of the problems that must be resolved at this time in order to improve the quality of education is that of building the corps of teachers well.

At present, we have more than 400,000 teachers (50,000 kindergarten teachers, 220,000 level I teachers, 110,000 level II teachers, 30,000 level III teachers and 10,000 teachers specializing in supplementary education). If we include the more than 40,000 education management cadres, the education sector has the largest staff of the non-production sectors. This reflects the rapid development of education in our country, especially since the country was reunified. The corps of teachers has become an important part of the corps of socialist intellectuals and has made a large contribution to training the young generation to be the key force in building and defending the fatherland and in bringing knowledge of culture and science to the working people.

However, our corps of teachers still exhibits shortcomings and weaknesses that have influenced the development of education. Although we have many teachers, in some areas (the mountains, the area deep within the Mekong River Delta and so forth) still lack teachers. The structure of the corps of teachers is not well coordinated and this has affected the overall education of the young generation: we lack teachers to teach politics, foreign languages, music, painting, physical culture and technology, teachers to take charge of Youth Union and unit work, provide occupational counselling and so forth. With the exception of a number of advanced teachers, the greatest shortcoming at this time is that the quality of teachers is still low, does not meet immediate requirements and is even lower compared to the requirements of educational reform.

As regards personal qualities, the vast majority of teachers have the correct political stand, are loyal to the fatherland and the party, clearly distinguish between friends and enemies, respect the law and possess the sense of organization and discipline. However, the enthusiasm for work of many teachers has recently declined and "averagism" is spreading. Although programs are still being completed, the instruction being provided by many teachers is not thorough, experimentation and practical application are often ignored, lessons are graded in a "general" fashion and little attention is given to the results achieved by students in their studies. Even more deserving of concern is the fact that some teachers have become indifferent toward the task of education, have foresaken the guideline "teach persons by teaching them to read and write" and have even failed to correct bad behavior by students. In addition, some schools, families and elders have not concerned themselves with educating bad students and have, as a result, caused many difficulties to teachers in their educational work.

Generally speaking, with the exception of a number of teachers who have made progress, the old corps of teachers in the South does not possess high political awareness, does not possess a firm patriotic, socialist stand and some persons have, for one reason or another, left the profession.

As regards cultural and scientific qualifications, the results of an investigation conducted during the 5 year (1975-1980) review of the sector showed differences among the teachers on the same level in the different localities. In the municipalities and districts that have developed educational systems, the majority of teachers, especially level III teachers, have received training under the standard systems; consequently, they have not made major mistakes in their teaching; they can meet immediate requirements if they prepare themselves fully for the classes they will teach. However, in the mountains, in a number of rural areas and, in particular, in the areas deep within the Mekong River Delta, the qualifications of teachers are very low; they make mistakes, sometimes basic mistakes, in disseminating to students the contents of textbooks. At many places, including the Red River Delta, the qualifications of level I teachers are too low; approximately 20 percent of teachers, even if they receive advanced training, show no prospects for meeting the requirements of the educational reform program.

In addition, the teaching skills of many teachers are poor; when they conduct a class, many teachers usually only teach students in a monotonous fashion, do not tap the intelligence of students and do not "use what they teach to students to cultivate within students the ability to think." (1) As teaching skills become increasingly weak, teachers often take on the work of head teachers, perform Youth Union, Teenagers' Unit or Children's Unit work in an administrative, mechanical fashion and do not know how to deal satisfactorily with "educational situations."

There are many reasons for the decline in the quality of general school education and the blame cannot be laid entirely upon teachers; however, teachers surely must accept a major portion of the responsibility for this decline, primarily because they have failed to generate a desire to learn on the part of students. The long

and fierce war in a country in which small-scale production predominates has very greatly limited our ability to develop education, in general, and build the corps of teachers, in particular. Meanwhile, the need to develop education is very large and the education sector is feeling "the pressure of numbers." (2) Therefore, although the Ministry of Education tries to balance the size of school and class enrollments with schools, the number of teachers and so forth when formulating plans for the development of general school education, these plans are usually disrupted by pressure from the educational needs of the children of the people; some localities open schools before looking for teachers. The training of teachers must try to keep abreast of the development of general school education. The student recruiting norms for the teachers schools are very high (amounting to nearly one-half the total number of students accepted at the colleges and vocational middle schools) but the quality of these students is low; the teachers academies and middle schools generally must reduce their standards and are still unable to meet norms. The number of teachers schools has increased rapidly but the material bases of the schools are very weak. The corps of normal school teachers has been formed in a spontaneous manner, the majority of these persons were only trained to teach in general schools and do not have a grasp of the profession of teaching teachers and many persons are not satisfied with their jobs because they must work far from their homes (the majority of the teachers at the normal schools in the South are from the North).

At the normal schools, the contents and methods of training are not designed to teach a trade, to teach a person, rather, they still lean heavily toward preparing a person to teach a few scientific subjects. Whereas in the North, due to the need to improve the quality of training, we abolished the short-term training system and have gradually raised the qualifications of teachers, in the South, due to the very large need for teachers, teachers must be trained on an emergency basis, contract teachers must be used, teachers on the upper level must be "induced" to teach on the lower level and so forth.

As regards the utilization of teachers, the guidance provided by the various levels of education management concerning specialization has not helped teachers to raise their qualifications. This is partially because many principals do not inform teachers of all the policies of the upper level or because teachers are busy with many jobs "around the school" and are not encouraged to delve deeply into a specialized field or their profession. The skilled teacher receives no better remuneration than the incompetent teacher. Within the framework of present regulations and policies, the education sector is encountering very many difficulties in transferring teachers from the lowlands to the mountains, from the cities to the countryside, from the North to the South and so forth. Although the education sector has concerned itself with the advanced training of teachers, providing regular advanced training during the school years and standardized advanced training, the quality of this training is not assured. Many teachers have been "standardized" but have not improved their ability to teach.

Another important reason for the decline in the quality of the corps of teachers is difficult living conditions. The difficult economic situation has

affected the living conditions of the cadres in every sector but it is the cadres of the education sector that have been affected the most. In some districts, whenever economic or financial difficulties are encountered, teachers are the first persons to whom salaries are owed and the first persons whose supply standards are reduced. In the recent past, one district owed salaries to teachers for several months in a row and another district replaced the grain standard of teachers with a subsidy, a subsidy which, however, was not even equal to one-half the price of rice on the market. Some places do not consider level I teachers to be state cadres, etc. In particular, the kindergarten and nursery school teachers on the staff at times lead very tragic lives. Under such circumstances, teachers cannot devote their energies to their work, rather, they must find a way to survive; a second job becomes their main concern. Some teachers only use teaching as a way to "get a foot inside" the state administration and become eligible for the grain supply standard while devoting their intelligence, time and effort to other jobs in order to earn money. Some teachers even work in trades that affect the prestige of an educator. In the cities, private tutoring has taken on some negative aspects. As a result of these difficulties and actions, the prestige of teachers has declined. At a number of places, students do not respect teachers. Even more serious is the fact that some cadres of position and authority in a few localities and even some parents of students have committed acts of violence against teachers. These are painful phenomena because they are contrary to our people's tradition of "respecting teachers and being honorable," contrary to the evaluation of teaching by our party and state as "the most noble of the noble professions."

Reforming the elementary training, utilization and advanced training of teachers, which is called pedagogical reform--is a pressing matter. The objective of pedagogical reform is to resolve the problem of the number and the quality of teachers. The number of teachers does not meet needs, consequently, teacher training must continue to be rather large in scale, especially in the South. From now on, however, we cannot train teachers in an impetuous, haphazard manner, rather, the training of teachers must be planned and minimum conditions regarding quality must be met. In order to eventually achieve a well balanced structured, we must intensify the training of teachers for those fields in which there is a serious shortage of teachers, such as politics, foreign languages, music, painting, etc. However, on the basis of the above mentioned situation concerning the quality of teachers, the first objective of pedagogical reform must be to improve the quality of the corps of teachers in order to meet the requirements of educational reform and so that the corps of teachers "meets both political and professional standards(...) and is capable of keeping pace with the continuous development of the new society and the young generation."(3) As regards their personal qualities, teachers must be "persons who possess noble souls, necessary knowledge, socialist dignity, an ardent love of their occupation and a love of youth, must be persons who struggle for the future of the young generation."(4) As regards their scientific qualifications and teaching skills, teachers must teach to their students "basic, universal, modern knowledge that is closely linked to Vietnam and, more importantly, must teach them how to apply the knowledge they have learned in order to resolve problems in everyday life"; teachers must educate students well so that "through the school, every student becomes a socialist worker."(5)

Pedagogical reform must increase both the revolutionary nature and the scientific nature of the corps of teachers so that teachers truly become the revolutionary fighters on the ideological and cultural front, become the "engineers of the soul" of the young generation. Only by maintaining an unswerving political stand and having firm confidence in the education line of the party can the teacher have the energy needed to overcome the difficulties encountered in the process of the reform of education. Only by having a firm grasp of the science they teach and the science of training persons can teachers meet the new requirements, requirements which are higher than previously, of the reformed general school program.

In pedagogical reform, there are many jobs that must be performed, some of which will take a long time; however, there are other jobs that must be started immediately. In the immediate future, we must improve the education and management of the corps of teachers while concerning ourselves with the living conditions of teachers and elevating their position in society. We must wage a struggle against averagism and the other negative phenomena within the corps of teachers and must heighten the spirit of responsibility of teachers and their enthusiasm for their work. We must revise management and inspection procedures and intensify the teaching of politics and ideology to teachers. The Trade Union and the Youth Union must further accelerate the "every teacher is a bright example for students to follow" movement. The party committee echelons and local governments must consider teachers to be cadres of the party, to be persons who have the task of disseminating the lines and policies of the party and the positions of the local government to students and their parents.

Serious attention must be given to caring for the living conditions of teachers. The localities must insure that teachers receive all that is due to them under the regulations and standards promulgated by the state and must mobilize the people to help teachers, to create favorable working conditions for them and enable them to improve their living conditions in a legitimate manner.

In order to accomplish the above, the state must adopt a comprehensive policy for elevating the social position of the corps of teachers. This policy must confirm the role played by teachers in the work of building and defending the socialist fatherland and confirm that "the attitude of our party, our state and our society toward teachers is one of love, respect and support, one of creating every possible favorable condition for teachers to fulfill their mission well." (6) The various sectors and levels must scrupulously comply with the current regulations and policies regarding teachers and must, at the same time, research a more suitable and satisfactory salary system for teachers. We can refer to the system employed by the Soviet Union, that is, the system of preferential treatment for skilled teachers, with teachers being inspected and classified once every 5 years. "Skilled teachers" and "subject specialists" receive a higher salary than ordinary teachers.

It is necessary to research the possibility of giving teachers more time for summer vacation and giving teachers priority with regard to taking holidays, visiting industrial areas, visiting historic ruins and so forth so that they

can improve their health in coordination with improving their professional qualifications. The education sector should have a separate medal that is awarded to teachers who have served within the sector for many years or teachers who record outstanding achievements. We must adopt policies and regulations designed to encourage teachers to work at places far from their homes, such as paying special subsidies, reducing the amount of time between salary increases, giving teachers priority in the purchase of train and bus tickets when taking annual leave, etc. The promulgation of these policies and regulations together with concern on the part of the party committee echelon and local people for the living conditions of teachers will surely give the corps of teachers reasons to be content with their jobs and endeavor to fulfill their noble task.

Together with caring for the living and working conditions of teachers, it is necessary to formulate long-term planning concerning the training and utilization of teachers. This planning must support the strategy for the development of general school education; however, this planning absolutely must reflect balance between the scale of training and the conditions needed to insure the quality of training. At the same time, this planning must be the basis for formulating and determining the plans for the development of general school education. The Ministry of Education has defined the standard training systems: the teacher middle schools train level I teachers, the teachers academies train level II teachers and the teachers colleges train level III teachers (the training of foreign language teachers for level II schools will be shifted to the teachers colleges). In those areas in which education is developing slowly, the lower training systems will temporarily be maintained; however, there must be compliance with the regulations of the Ministry of Education regarding the recruiting of students, the amount of time spent in school, the training program and so forth, plans must be adopted for achieving the standard level of training and, at the same time, a number of teachers who meet standards should be transferred to these areas to serve as the nucleus of the force of teachers.

When formulating and implementing planning, it is necessary to apply the guideline of creating a combined strength by means of many different types of coordination, such as coordinating the various forms of regular, formal training with the various forms of on-the-job training, work-study training, self-training and so forth, coordinating the central level with the locality (for example, the budgets of some provinces include contributions to the central budget for the construction of inter-provincial teachers schools) and, in particular, coordinating the education sector with the other sectors (the Ministry of Culture, the Physical Culture and Sports General Department, the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Middle Schools and so forth) in order to train music teachers, art teachers, physical culture teachers, teachers of technology and so forth.

The teachers at teachers schools, who are the "teachers of teachers," must be more carefully selected than general school teachers are. In the immediate future, we must continue to use above average and excellent graduates of the teachers colleges to supplement the teachers middle schools and academies; however, we must actively train them in the work of level I or level II school teachers and send other persons to study so that they can return to become the nucleus of faculties and sections.

In order for teachers to be content with their work, feel close to their native villages and be close to their students, it is necessary that as many basic general school teachers as possible be local people.

The task of teachers is to teach well; therefore, we must use them primarily for teaching and must limit their use in other jobs. In view of the fact that the structure of the corps of teachers is not well coordinated, we cannot adhere to the principle of utilizing teachers in the special field for which they were trained, rather, we must continue to mobilize teachers to also teach subjects of which no one is in charge; however, an effort must be made to select persons who are somewhat competent and to send these persons to advanced training classes. In addition, a better system of subsidies should be adopted for teaching additional hours, teaching additional subjects and performing additional work; we must further research the system of teaching on two levels with a view toward making full use of the labor of good and excellent teachers and avoid increasing the size of the staff.

The advanced training of teachers is very important because the number of teachers now teaching (more than 400,000) is much higher than the number of teachers being trained each year (about 30,000). In the immediate future, we must organize the study of the resolution of the 5th Congress of the Party in coordination with deepening our understanding of educational reform and pedagogical reform and defining the responsibility of each school, of each teacher. Over the long range, plans must be adopted for providing comprehensive advanced training to each type teacher and creating the conditions for every teacher to continue his or her studies on the college or post-graduate level, provided that they possess the necessary determination. There must be many flexible forms of advanced training: centralized, decentralized, classroom and guided self-study; we must provide increased guidance over the radio, television and so forth while building a network of instructors.

In order to successfully carry out pedagogical reform, we must immediately begin to build a strong network of normal schools. At present, the network of normal schools is too decentralized (there are nearly 150 schools). Some schools are so small that they cannot centralize material bases or cadres. Therefore, it is necessary to research the reorganization of this network along the lines of maintaining a small number of schools that are strong and stable, make full use of equipment and cadres and are efficiently distributed by territory. For example, a small province can study the possibility of merging a normal school for kindergarten teachers and a normal middle school; it is not absolutely necessary for every province to have a teachers academy, rather, inter-provincial teachers academies can be organized; the relationship between the teachers academy and the teachers college within a province must also be evaluated in order to improve the quality of training and organize training in a more efficient and streamlined manner.

The reform of the normal schools is difficult work that will take a long time; however, anything that is not efficient should be corrected immediately (such as the existence of two schools that are located near each other and have the same



training task). Regardless of the network, there is one pressing job that must be performed, namely, that of increasing our investments in the normal schools and strengthening their material bases in order to establish a true normal school environment in which student teachers can learn much and can, when they return to their installations, help to build "schools that are schools," "classrooms that are classrooms." For each level of study, it is necessary to establish one or two key normal schools that have the task of providing standard training and taking the lead in the new forms of training.

Improving the quality of student recruiting is the foremost prerequisite to improving the quality of training. The present attitude of society does not favor the normal school sector. Youths have little interest in the teaching profession and students' parents, who have little education, are encouraging their children to join the profession. This problem can only be resolved in a fundamental fashion when the social position of the teacher has been elevated, when more satisfactory policies regarding teachers and the material bases of the normal schools have been improved.

In the immediate future, several steps must be taken to attract general school graduates to the normal school sector: when providing occupational counselling at general schools, attention must be given to discovering students who possess good ethical qualifications, students who, or whose family, respect the teaching profession in order to counsel them to attend a normal school; the general schools and teachers colleges should hold college entrance training classes with low fees for students who submit applications for normal schools; the possibility of expanding the scope of good students who are admitted to normal schools without taking examinations should be studied; additional scholarships should be made available for normal school students who are rated excellent; students who graduate with an excellent rating should be assigned the work they desire, should immediately be made research students, etc.

In order to have sources of students from which to recruit students for those areas of the country in which education is developing slowly, it is necessary to maintain and strengthen the teachers college preparatory classes and even open preparatory classes for the middle level normal schools.

Clearly, if we allow the present situation regarding the corps of teachers to continue, it will be impossible to successfully carry out the reform of education. The education sector cannot change this situation by itself, rather, it must have the help of all of society. To begin with, the various levels of the party, and government and the various sectors within the locality must realize the decisive role played by teachers in education and the important position of teachers in the three revolutions, especially in the work of molding the new, socialist man. We must always remember the teaching of President Ho: "Without teachers to educate the children of the people, how can we build socialism? Therefore, the teaching profession is a very important, very glorious one. Anyone who holds an incorrect opinion concerning the teaching profession must rectify it."(7)

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from the speech by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong during the ceremony to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the pedagogy sector (8 October 1981).
2. Ibid.
3. The resolution of the Political Bureau concerning the reform of education.
4. Ibid.
5. Excerpt from the speech by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong during the ceremony to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the pedagogy sector (8 October 1981).
6. Ibid.
7. Ho Chi Minh: "On Education," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1972, p 89.

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## CONCERNING THE MATTER OF REORGANIZING THE ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 10-16, 37

[Article by Nguyen Van Tran]

[Text] The report on "the Guidelines, Tasks and Main Objectives Regarding the Economy and Society During the Next 5 Years (1981-1985) and for the 1980's" that was adopted by the 5th Congress of the Party stated: "Of pressing significance and special importance is the need to urgently reorganize the economy well." In order to clearly understand this policy, we must have a firm grasp of the requirements and the specifics involved in reorganizing the economy.

### 1. The Inevitable Nature of Reorganizing the Economy

At present, our economy is in a very difficult state. In the field of production, capital investments have increased, there is much equipment and there is surplus labor but production has still developed slowly and has, in some places, stagnated; production forces in both the state-operated sector and the collective sector have not been developed and the gross social product has increased slowly and even declined in some years.

Investments in capital construction have been spread very thinly. Due to a desire to build large projects, we have not constructed new projects before making full use of the capacity of existing projects; in addition, investments have not been well coordinated or complete, consequently, economic returns have been low. At present, the capital invested in unfinished projects is more than two times as large as the capital invested each year by the entire national economy. Investments are made primarily by the state and the capital of the people is not mobilized. At a time when the capital of the state is limited, the people are using their money for consumption.

In the distribution of labor, good preparations have not been made for sending persons to new land areas and light attention has been given to expanding the local

trades. In the lowlands and midlands, there is a lack of work, and there is even inadequate work in the sparsely populated mountainous jungles.

Socialist transformation has been carried out in both zones of the country but the objective of socialist transformation, stimulating production, has yet to be met. The various segments of the economy are not being correctly utilized to develop production. The state has not utilized or developed upon the positive aspects and limited the negative aspects of the non-socialist segments of the economy and is still giving light attention to the family economy.

The consumption policy of the state is unsuitable in many ways. Subsidization, averaging and a lack of incentive to work are still very deeply imprinted in our socialist life. We are consuming more than we produce. Meanwhile, the state has not adopted a policy for reasonably redistributing the income of the various strata of the population, consequently, it is a universal phenomenon that persons who have been trained well and persons who produce much wealth for society earn a low income. Persons who earn a salary are encountering very many difficulties in their daily lives at this time.

The foreign trade economy is not strong enough to support the development of domestic production and gradually secure a position on the foreign market. We have not looked for every way to import and export goods in a positive manner in order to meet the requirements of production.

As regards the organization of implementation, the management apparatus is inferior and is characterized both by bureaucratic centralism and decentralization and localism. Economic management does not attach importance to computing economic returns and administrative management lacks regulations and laws. Cadres are not being fully trained, they do not possess all the skills required by their work and discipline is lax.

The situation described above has caused our country's economy, which has always been seriously imbalanced, to become even more seriously imbalanced and develop new imbalances. These are the imbalances between the accumulation of capital and consumption, between industry and agriculture, between the distribution of labor and jobs, between imports and exports, between the need to carry out the two strategic tasks and the actual capabilities of the national economy, etc.

In the advance from a system of small-scale production to socialism, the economy itself encompasses many serious imbalances; there are no iron, steel or heavy machinery and the energy base is very small; there is no basic chemical industry; there is much general labor but little technical labor, etc.

In the more than 30 years of war, the economy was very heavily damaged and the management procedures that were established during the years of peace were shattered by the war. The two wars waged against our country by the reactionaries within Beijing ruling circles have caused new difficulties. Pursuing a hostile policy toward our country, they cut their aid to us and, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, have embargoed our economy.

In recent years, continuous natural disasters in large areas of our country have inflicted heavy losses upon agricultural production.

These are the objective difficulties. Subjectively, we have committed shortcomings and mistakes in economic management, consequently, we have not made good use of existing material-technical bases and this has led to low economic returns. Economic management is characterized by bureaucratic centralism, remoteness from reality and sweeping subsidization; on the other hand, there are liberalism, fragmentation, a lack of organization, a lack of laws and a lack of discipline. Our shortcomings have caused our imbalanced economy to become even more seriously imbalanced. Looking for every way to gradually overcome the imbalance of the economic structure is the pressing task of economic investments and strategy. This is also a matter related to the art of economic management.

In view of this significance, reorganizing the economy, reorganizing our present economic structures, is a necessary, basic and pressing job that must be performed for a number of years to come.

## 2. The Purpose of Reorganizing the Economy Is To Further Develop the Economy and Accelerate the Socialist Transformation of the National Economy

The reorganization of the economy involves redeploying production forces, readjusting the basic economic relations and rearranging the various economic structures. It includes reorganizing production, reorganizing the fields of labor, investments in capital construction, the distribution of accumulated capital, social consumption, the circulation of goods, communications and transportation and the reorganization of the economic management and cadre apparatus in order to partially correct the serious imbalance that exists now and meet the needs of society in accordance with an order of priorities regarding the objectives set forth in the political report that was adopted by the 5th Congress of the Party and in a manner consistent with the realistic capabilities of the economy, especially regarding energy and raw materials. At the same time, it is designed to gradually create a correct, balanced and efficient economic structure so that the social reproduction process is carried out without interruption, production forces play the greatest possible role, acquire more dynamic vitality, can develop strongly and can achieve a position of stability.

Therefore, the reorganization of the economy is primarily designed to:

--Concentrate the forces of the state on the most necessary objectives and in the most necessary fields and develop the forces of the other segments of the economy in the fields whose development has not been given priority under the assistance, guidance and control of the dictatorship of the proletariat state and in accordance with the guideline "the state and the people working together."

--Gradually create a new balance among sectors and within each area of the country in order to effectively develop the potentials that lie in our existing labor, arable land, resources and sources of capital.

--Strengthen and develop the state-operated economy and the collective economy to serve as the primary base for drawing and guiding the other segments of the economy into activities within the orb of the state plan.

--Mobilize and fully utilize within production each labor force and the various sources of capital within society.

--Coordinate the economy and the national defense system in order to simultaneously carry out the two strategic tasks.

The basic standards for evaluating the results of the reorganization of the economy are socio-economic returns, labor productivity and the quality of social labor.

In view of the fact that it consists of the elements mentioned above, the reorganization of the economy creates the conditions and the premises for continuing to gradually develop and carry out the socialist transformation of the national economy in a steady and practical manner and for making full use of realistic capabilities while creating the conditions for implementing the economic development strategy. This is also an important, specific policy and measure concerning the organization and management of the national economy in the years ahead. On the basis of successfully reorganizing the economy, we will reorganize the other fields of society, such as training, education, scientific-technical research, etc.

### 3. Reorganizing the Economy Is an Effective Way To Adjust the Important Components of the Economy in Order To Eventually Correct the Existing Imbalance

Reorganizing the economy is a large, complex and difficult job that must be performed over a period of a number of years and must be performed by scientific, concrete and practical methods; however, reorganizing the economy absolutely does not mean that we must dismantle everything and start over from the beginning or repudiate everything in order to do everything over.

In fact, in order to develop the policy of reorganizing the economy in conjunction with further developing and continuing to carry out the socialist transformation of the national economy, our party and state carried out reorganization in a number of fields and components in order to gradually reach accurate conclusions and put these conclusions in the form of major policies. These policies are:

--The policy on reorganizing distribution and circulation, which is embodied in resolution 26/NQ-TU, which was promulgated in June 1980 by the Political Bureau and concerns improving distribution and circulation;

--The policy on reorganizing the investments in capital construction, which is embodied in the resolutions of the Party Central Committee concerning the tasks of the plans for 1979, 1980 and 1981;

--The policy on reorganizing the production of the state-operated enterprises, which is embodied in Council of Ministers' decision 25/CP dated 21 January 1981;

--The policy on contract work within the agricultural cooperatives, which is based on directive 100 of the Party Secretariat.

The experience gained in the implementation of these policies permits us to state that reorganizing the economy, reorganizing the various economic structures, as mentioned above, is correct, is an effective step to take; at the same time, the experiences that have been gained prove that this is a major undertaking, one that requires a very scientific method of research and implementation that is well coordinated among the most important components of the economy.

Clearly, the organic and coordinated nature of the basic economic relations and the various economic structures demand that we urgently reorganize the economy; however, reorganizing the economy does not mean withdrawing from the economic front, rather, it means bringing about a relatively comprehensive and profound economic change, a change in which some fields and sectors must be strongly developed because they centralize production conditions in a rational manner (such as grain, forestry and the artisan trades), some sectors and fields must be strengthened and some installations or sectors must change their operational guidelines and scale of operation. However, from the point of view of the entire economy, the reorganization of the economy will create a position from which the economy can move forward, will bring about the wholesome development of the economy and will cause the economy to gradually achieve a harmonious balance and higher socio-economic returns; it will strengthen and develop socialist forces and utilize and transform the non-socialist segments of the economy.

Once the party has set forth the economic line, the task of leading and managing the economy involves setting forth a strategy that presents the steps to be taken to successfully implement this line.

The economic strategy is the establishment of suitable steps in the development of production and the establishment and strengthening of production relations in a manner consistent with the nature and level of development of production forces. It consists of the establishment of the objectives of each stage, the formulation of major policies, the formulation of various economic-technical-social plans on the basis of objectives and major policies and the selection of optimum plans in order to integrate everything.

During the next several years, in order to further develop the national economy and accelerate the socialist transformation of the national economy, we must urgently and successfully carry out the reorganization of the economy, considering this to be the key to creating the conditions for economic development and socialist transformation. In essence, therefore, reorganizing the economy is in the nature of a socio-economic development strategy and in the nature of an economic management strategy.

In an undertaking as large, difficult and complex as reorganizing the economy, it is necessary to employ practical and effective methods of working.

1. Thoroughly Understanding the Systems Viewpoint and Applying the Goal Oriented Program Method with Well Coordinated Measures for Implementing in the Reorganization of the Economy

In essence, reorganizing the economy involves adjusting the economy, from the general structure of the national economy to the structure of each field, each sector, each locality and each territorial area and possibly even the structure of a number of production-business installations; it also involves stimulating the establishment of relationships of economic association and cooperation and eliminating the closed cycle of production and the isolation within an individual locality or installation. Therefore, it is necessary to thoroughly understand and apply the systems viewpoint, necessary to examine the various aspects of the system and its chain-reaction impact in order to develop upon and make full use of realistic capabilities while diminishing any undesired effects that might occur.

The policy on reorganizing the economy must first be decided, with a high degree of unanimity, on the central level and must be implemented in detail within the various sectors and localities, especially the basic units. The implementation of this policy requires the application of the most advanced scientific method used in management at this time. This method is the goal oriented program method with well coordinated measures for achieving implementation.

On the basis of the objectives set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party and in view of the capabilities of the present corps of cadres, the state should organize the formulation and implementation of three major goal oriented programs for:

- Grain, food products;
- Essential consumer goods;
- Exports and imports.

In order to support these programs, it is necessary to formulate and implement two other programs:

- Communications-transportation, information and posts-telegraph;
- Energy (electricity, coal, petroleum, natural gas, firewood and so forth).

These major goal oriented programs must be coordinated with one another and play the role of the backbone of the state plans between now and 1985 and possible even the backbone of the plans for a few more years.

2. It Is Necessary To Set Forth the Specifics of a Number of Basic Economic Policies To Serve as the Basis for the Formulation of Goal Oriented Programs

In order to formulate the major goal oriented programs mentioned above, we must first set forth relatively specific economic policies based on the objectives,



the guidelines, the tasks, the viewpoints concerning guidance and the major measures presented in the political report and the economic report ratified by the 5th Congress of the Party.

Without specific economic policies, it is impossible to do a good job of reorganizing the economy. Until these policies are defined in a detailed and complete manner, the state must present its basic thinking and the main contents of a number of specific economic policies:

--The policy regarding the various segments of the economy: in the present stage of the period of transition from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production, the economy still consists of many segments and supply-demand relations are seriously imbalanced. The state must permit the various segments of the economy to exist and develop to differing degrees (except for the compradore bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie in commerce). It is necessary to develop and firmly strengthen the state-operated economy so that it can play the dominant role in the national economy; strengthen and consolidate the collective economy so that it has a strong impact upon the private economy and becomes a force competently supplementing the state-operated economy within the unified national economy; and guide, provide incentive for and support the household economy of cooperative member families, manual workers and civil servants, which the state must consider to be a component of the socialist economy. At places that have not been collectivized yet, the private economy within industry, forestry, fishing, small industry and the artisan trades must continue to be guided by the state so that it produces many products for society within the orb of socialism.

The limiting of the negative aspects of the non-socialist segments of the economy and the transformation of these segments are primarily carried out by means of the strong, effective and high quality development of the socialist segments of the economy in conjunction with the proper use of economic and administrative measures by the dictatorship of the proletariat state.

The reorganization of the various segments of the economy in the manner outlined above is designed to reduce reliance upon the state and make it possible for the various economic segments to contribute much more capital, technology and production and business experience, accept much social labor and create jobs in the cities and the countryside. This reorganization is also designed to establish a new order within the various segments of the economy, one that stimulates the positive aspects of the segments of the economy and insures that the state's management of the various segments of the economy is neither lax nor stifling.

--A policy on the distribution and use of labor: at present, the cadres, manual workers and civil servants of the state lack work and the indirect labor force is too large. The number of persons joining the labor force is increasing daily. The distribution of labor on a nationwide scale is inefficient. Capital is limited. Therefore, the main thinking behind this policy is to bring together every capability for creating jobs within the locality in order to meet the requirements of those persons who lack work and provide employment to the unemployed

while adopting a thorough, detailed and well prepared plan for sending persons to clear selected new land areas in accordance with the guideline "the state and the people working together."

--An energy policy: the main thinking behind this policy is to make full use of the existing sources of energy, develop new sources, coordinate the use of the different sources of energy, correctly coordinate manual labor with mechanized labor, practice economy in the consumption of energy and so forth. In the immediate future, it is necessary to conduct a good campaign and adopt a specific policy designed to limit the use of electric power in everyday life in order to concentrate the supply of electricity on production; and, according to the pilot projects that have been conducted, we can reduce by nearly one-half the amount of electricity being used in daily life because this is an area in which there is much waste.

--A consumption policy: the main thinking behind this policy is to only consume to the extent permitted by national income and to allocate an appropriate percentage of accumulated capital for expanded production. The main element of the consumption policy is to encourage families, cooperatives and persons who earn their living privately to actively invest capital in expanded reproduction and for the state and the people to pool their capital and invest in the development and expansion of production. We must encourage and protect the production of domestic goods, allocate high quality products for exportation and combat extravagant consumption and the fondness for foreign goods. We must take positive and reasonable steps to abolish the various systems of subsidies and eliminate that portion of consumption that exceeds the present level of national income. We must eliminate things that are done for form's sake and are ostentatious and must reduce the number of meetings and study sessions that are of poor quality.

In the immediate future, importance must be attached to looking for every way to produce items that are truly necessary with a view toward meeting greater needs while using the same quantity of materials. For example, we have a large number of bicycles but only enough spare parts are being produced for one-third of these bicycles; meanwhile, we are continuing to build additional bicycle frames, thereby making the imbalance between the supply of and demand for bicycle parts worse. The absolute majority of existing materials must be allocated to the production of spare parts instead of continuing to produce bicycle frames for sale on the domestic market.

Very many examples such as the one presented above can be found in production at this time.

--A foreign economic policy: the main thinking behind this policy is to strengthen our economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the socialist community and expand the mutual help among the three countries of Indochina. We must also develop relations with friendly countries, take the initiative in selectively expanding international exchange, take the initiative in breaking the economic embargo of the enemy, creating large sources of export goods and reducing the importation of goods for consumption. The primary elements of this policy are: making every effort to acquire and make very good use of the valuable assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union

and the other fraternal countries; correctly fulfilling the obligations we have in economic cooperation; and strengthening our economic association with the countries within CEMA in both breadth and depth. We must look for every way to acquire more international credit in order to import materials necessary for production with a view toward making the best possible use of the existing potentials of the country. We must look for ways to attract foreign capital investments in our country in order to develop sources of export goods. A policy must be adopted for attracting foreign currency from overseas Vietnamese and international guests and we must look for every way to develop local exports, especially through the tourism sector; at the same time, we must conduct inspections and prevent the flow of smuggled goods, money, gold and other precious metals to foreign countries. Careful calculations must be made so that all materials and technologies that are imported have an immediate impact upon production and are used to create products of high value, rapidly repay loans and earn many profits. We must look for every way to break the economic embargo of the enemy, selectively expand trade and plan to achieve high socio-economic returns. Only by accelerating exports and imports under a correct policy is it possible to develop the potentials of the country to support the development of the economy and gradually eliminate our economy's dependence upon foreign economies; we should not draw back and cause the economy to develop slowly.

### 3. A Number of Urgent Improvements to the Organization of Management

In order to do a good job of reorganizing the economy, it is necessary to improve the economic management mechanism, from planning and cost accounting to the various incentive policies based on the guidelines and principles set forth in the Political Report and the Economic Report ratified by the 5th Congress of the Party. A number of state economic management agencies must be reorganized so that they are streamlined and effective; we must take determined steps to reduce the size of the administrative staff (within the state apparatus and within production and business units), reduce the number of intermediary agencies, reassign a number of economic management cadres, reorganize the economic management cadre training network and improve the work style and methods of economic management cadres.

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THOROUGHLY COMPREHENDING THE ECONOMIC LINE OF THE PARTY IN THE PRESENT STAGE  
AND STRONGLY DEVELOPING THE LOCAL ECONOMY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 17-22 and 30

[Article by Nguyen Xuan Huu, secretary of the Phu Khanh Provincial Party Committee]

[Text] During the past 5 years, studying and applying the line of the party to the conditions of the locality have truly been of value to us in delving deeply into reality. Through our successful and unsuccessful experiences, we established the base for proving the correctness of the line of the party in order to concretize and implement this line in practice.

I. Understanding the Matter of Agriculture Within the Economic Line of the Party

During the past 5 years, Phu Khanh Province focused its efforts on the agricultural front, recorded a number of initial achievements in intensive cultivation, multicropping and the expansion of the amount of land under cultivation and virtually completed agricultural cooperativization under two forms: cooperatives and production collectives (the production collectives are primarily in the mountains); Phu Khanh has progressed from lacking grain to meeting the grain needs of the province and fulfilling its obligation to the central level. We have partially carried out the redistribution of labor, developed the artisan trades, small industry, the consumer goods industry and the processing of grain and food products and have produced some of the instruments of production we need. As a result, we have created sources of goods for supply to the central level and for supporting the daily lives of the people within the province, expanded commodity trade relations with friendly provinces and exported goods in order to purchase the number of materials necessary for the development of agriculture and the other sectors of the economy. Phu Khanh has constructed initial material-technical bases for the development of the economy, beginning with the development of agriculture, created many new capabilities, such as intensive cultivation, multicropping and the establishment of high yield fields, expanded the economy in new land areas, developed the production of industrial crops and created sources of agricultural goods for exportation. However, compared to the line of the party and in the light of reality, we realize that we still display shortcomings regarding agriculture, such as the following:

1. We are not yet fully aware of the objectives regarding grain, food products, raw materials for industry and agricultural products for exportation, rather, attention has only been given to the grain problem.

--We have not yet coordinated agriculture with forestry and fishing and have not attached importance to developing forestry and fishing in order to join agriculture in the effort to resolve the problem of raw materials for industry, increase the output of forestry and maritime products for exportation and participate in resolving the grain and food problem.

--We do not fully understand that the agricultural development policy of the party necessarily demands that industry competently support the development needs of agriculture, small industry and the artisan trades. In view of the objectives of resolving the grain and food problem, providing raw materials for industry and providing agricultural products for exportation, agriculture can be compared to "a cotton flower with three buds" that embody the premises for the development of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, thereby creating a structure that efficiently coordinates agriculture and industry.

We have begun to carry out socialist industrialization under the conditions of an agricultural country. Our country has abundant labor, has objects of labor in its arable land, forests and ocean waters, has a diversity of trades and has the system of collective ownership that has begun to be established; we can develop upon these strengths in order to carry out industrialization. In the recent past, we have not known how to seize upon these factors, consequently, opportunities have been missed.

2. We do not have a clear understanding of the stages and forms of organization for advancing agriculture one step toward large-scale socialist production, consequently, our work in many areas has come to a stop and there is much confusion.

In agriculture, after the South was totally liberated, we urgently carried out the redistribution of cropland and initiated agricultural cooperativization at an early date; however, we were slow to reorganize production, redistribute labor along the lines of centralization, intensive cultivation and specialized farming, carry out production in accordance with planning and plans and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. While looking for the path to follow and the measures to take in order to make progress, our party saw that one economic area plays an extremely important role, the district. The district economy, which consists of the cooperatives, lies within the economic structure of the province or municipality and is closely linked to the economic-technical sectors of the entire country. However, in the development of agriculture and the various economic sectors within the district, we have failed to closely link the production installations to processing installations, failed to closely link agriculture to small industry and the artisan trades and failed to build, in a well coordinated manner, a number of agricultural technical stations and farms, material supply stores, purchasing stores and retail stores together with storehouses and means of transportation within the district. We have encountered numerous problems in assigning management responsibilities to the districts.

In forestry, we have yet to become the masters of the forests and forest land and have not coordinated labor with forest resources by means of rational forms of production organizations in order to develop these resources in the most effective manner possible and closely coordinate the clearing of land and the building of new economic zones with afforestation and forest conservation. The assignment of land and forests to cooperatives, the linking of the forest gardens of cooperative members to the building of cooperatives and the development of state-operated forestry sites and so forth were not established or organized at an early date, consequently, we have failed to gradually turn the forest wilderness into industrial forests, many forest areas have no owners and we have not organized the maintenance, planting, and rational harvesting of forests. For this reason, our forests' potentials are very large but have not contributed much to the economy.

As regards maritime products, how should we coordinate the state-operated organizations, collective organizations and private individuals in a manner suited to the characteristics of the marine products sector in order to harvest marine products in the best possible manner? How should inland fishing and fishing at sea be coordinated? How should pisciculture be coordinated with fishing, fishing with processing and so forth? These are important questions that we have yet to answer in a truly concrete manner in order to advance the marine products sector to a position worthy of its strength.

The shortcomings mentioned above have limited the development of agriculture within the locality and made more than a small contribution to causing the shortages encountered in everyday life and increasing the difficulties of the economy.

## II. Recognizing the Relationship Between Industry and Agriculture in the Present Stage

Our party maintains that it is necessary to develop upon our strongest moving force, namely, the system of socialist collective ownership in order to make rational and effective use of labor and arable land, open sectors and trades at each installation, within each locality and throughout the country, create a high social labor productivity and increase the output of products for society. To accomplish this, it is first of all necessary to advance agriculture one step toward large-scale socialist production within a structure that closely and correctly coordinates agriculture, light industry and heavy industry.

For the next 10 years, agriculture will be the front of foremost importance; therefore, efforts must be focused on accelerating agricultural production in order to insure an adequate supply of grain and food products to the people, supply raw materials for the development of light industry and supply important export goods. We must make full use of the labor within agriculture while raising labor productivity within agriculture. Raising labor productivity within agriculture is not only a very important measure in increasing output, but also helps to supply labor to the various sectors of the national economy. The grain and food products produced by agriculture not only support the population within agriculture, but also the laborers of the other sectors.

We are building socialism without developed industry. In order to build socialism, we must have initial capital and must accumulate capital from within the national economy. The main source of initial capital is the surplus labor within agriculture and light industry. The primary source of accumulated capital also lies in coordinating the development of agriculture and light industry. (In addition, there are also sources of initial capital and accumulated capital in loans from the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries)

In order for agriculture to play the role as the base for the development of industry, we must expand the amount of area under cultivation, raise labor productivity and increase agricultural output.

In the process of advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production, we are using the district as the base and actively building the districts along the lines of coordinating agriculture and industry, carrying out the redistribution of labor, making good use of labor and arable land and accelerating the scientific-technological revolution with the view toward supporting intensive cultivation and specialized farming, opening sectors and trades and producing export goods.

The process of advancing agriculture to large-scale socialist production must be closely linked to the process of socialist industrialization because agriculture itself, even cooperativized agriculture, cannot entirely transform technology, rather, heavy industry must make a very strong impact in order for agriculture to have all the conditions needed to advance to large-scale socialist production.

Historic experience in the process of building the socialist economy has made us deeply aware of the fact that wherever activities separate industry and agriculture, difficulties are encountered; conversely, wherever industry and agriculture are closely coordinated, the economy develops in a balanced and smooth manner.

The development of agriculture must be coordinated with the development of light industry and the expansion of the trade sectors. Light industry plays a very important role in producing consumer goods and supporting the life of the people; light industry creates sources of export goods and makes a very important contribution to the accumulation of capital. Light industry also increases the value of agricultural raw materials by processing them into consumer goods for the people; and light industry creates consumer goods for trade with farmers.

Agriculture and light industry, when their development is well coordinated, create a firm base for the development of heavy industry; agriculture and light industry cannot develop if heavy industry does not supply them with electricity, fuel, chemical fertilizers, implements, machines, etc. In the immediate future, we must develop heavy industry on the basis of the needs of agriculture and light industry and must guide the heavy industrial sectors toward supporting the development of agriculture and light industry. At the same time, we must continue to selectively build a number of key heavy industrial sectors with a view toward meeting immediate economic development needs and creating the conditions for development in subsequent years.

"Thus, during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 and during the 1980's, we must focus our efforts on strongly developing agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance, advance agriculture one step toward large-scale socialist production, make every effort to accelerate the production of consumer goods and continue to build a number of important heavy industrial sectors; we must coordinate agriculture, the consumer goods industry and heavy industry within a rational industrial-agricultural structure. These are the main elements involved in socialist industrialization in the present stage."(1)

In the past, the failure to closely coordinate industry and agriculture on a nationwide scale as well as within each locality and the slow development of industry have very greatly influenced the effort to meet the objectives of agriculture. We have yet to adopt unified, nationwide industrial planning, We have not fully evaluated the role played by industry, especially heavy industry in the North, which is highly capable of and responsible for equipping the country's economy with technology as well as highly capable of and responsible for carrying out the transformation and development of the economy in the South. On the other hand, we have not fully developed the role of agriculture, especially agriculture in the South. When talking about coordinating industry and agriculture throughout the country, we are talking about the tremendous capabilities of industry and agriculture in both zones of the country that must be developed upon and made to supplement one another in order to gradually establish a nationwide agricultural-industrial structure at an early date.

On the basis of this realization, we must give thought to the type of local economic structure and the type of management mechanism that are suited to the present stage. What is the path that will lead us from our present difficulties, from problems that are pressing as well as long-range and basic?

The experience of the past 5 years has further confirmed that the path that will lead us from our difficulties is to highly concentrate our forces on the agricultural front (which includes forestry and fishing), to direct the efforts of each sector and level toward this front and to create a combined strength with which to win a firm victory. At the same time, we must correct the slow development of industry and rapidly expand the industrial network.

In our province, the path leading us from our difficulties is, on the basis of the strengths of the province and of each district, to establish a division of labor and successfully utilize virtually all labor in order to develop the potentials that lie in our land, forests, ocean waters and trades, successfully meet the objectives of agriculture and endeavor to establish a balance between the supply of grain, raw materials and agricultural products for exportation and demand. At the same time, we will research the reorganization of the machine, electric power and communications-transportation networks, strongly develop the trade sectors producing consumer goods, especially small industry and the artisan trades and accelerate our exports. We will successfully implement the guideline "the state and the people working together" in order to create initial capital primarily from within the economy of the province in coordination with seeking the assistance of the central level and broadening our domestic and international



business cooperation. On this basis, we will gradually establish the district agro-industrial structure (each district has different strengths and conditions) and the provincial industrial-agricultural structure.

Another path that will lead us from our difficulties is that of eliminating the administrative-subsidization style of management. The management mechanism must be improved along the lines of creating a combined strength in order to insure the successful performance of the task of building the central economy while developing the local economy. This new management mechanism must broaden the independence of the installations, localities and sectors while insuring that the central level firmly controls the most basic factors. It is necessary to formulate good plans on all levels, insure that plans are formulated from the basic level upward, promptly comply with regulations and policies and attach very much importance to economic levers. We must reach a common understanding, must establish a clear division of labor and echelons, primarily between the central level and the local level, and must gradually resolve the problems that exist between the sector and the level, that exist in building the districts and building a rational industrial-agricultural structure.

### III. Being the Masters of the Sources of Capital in Order to Strongly Develop the Local Economy

At present, in order to strongly develop the local economy, we must create supplemental sources of initial capital for existing installations and for the development of new potentials. These sources of capital cannot be created if we continue to wait for and rely upon capital from the central level and foreign countries. We think that we must obtain initial capital primarily within the locality and coordinate this with aid from the central level and international cooperation.

1. The major issue of strategic significance at this time is that of efficiently redistributing labor and utilizing labor in the most effective manner possible in order to develop the potentials of agriculture, forestry and fishing. The resources that lie in our land, forests and ocean waters are very large but the development of these natural potentials depends upon the division of labor and the investment of labor. The realities of the past 5 years throughout the country as well as within Phu Khanh Province prove this. In the space of only 5 years, the country opened 1 million additional hectares of land and put 600,000 hectares into production; if, in each of the upcoming years, we allocate 1.5 million laborers to implement the guideline "the state and people working together," we can open from 300,000 to One-half million additional hectares of land each year and, in the space of 6 to 8 years, harvest crops, primarily industrial crops to make export goods, from 2 million to 3 million hectares of land, which would result in a significant profit. Over the past 5 years, Phu Khanh Province has maintained the living conditions of the people in a relatively stable fashion as a result of opening 40,000 additional hectares of land by means of centralized land clearing operations and by having cooperatives send labor to build "second installations." If, in the near future, our province mobilizes more than 100,000 laborers within agriculture to open additional land (in the same

way it did recently) to plant industrial crops and develop the trade sector, it will create a very large amount of capital.

Reviewing the locality's situation, we are made even more unhappy when we see that much land still lies fallow, forests have no owners, ocean resources are not being significantly developed, many swamps and bays are being wasted, the trade sector has not been developed and so forth at a time when the social labor force is very large. The matter of creating sources of capital from labor is a problem that we must research and that we must find every way to resolve at an early date. The corps of scientific and technical cadres, economic management cadres and skilled workers within the province is rather large. Many of these persons are experienced, have participated in combat, have been forged and possess high qualifications. If we know how to utilize and reorganize this labor force in a manner consistent with the reorganization of production and capital construction and if we adopt a good policy for coordinating this force with production and business, we will surely achieve large results.

2. Relying upon international cooperation in order to create capital, technical equipment and technical materials: due to our natural surroundings, we have a strength in the various types of special, tropical agricultural and forestry products. By means of exporting, we can import the technical equipment and materials needed to strongly develop the various sectors of the domestic economy and create the conditions for raising social labor productivity. Utilizing our existing material capabilities, all we need to do is adopt a suitable policy and organize implementation well in order to acquire capital immediately. We must practice economy in consumption so that goods can be exported. For example, as regards the exportation of wood, for every cubic meter of wood worth 2,000 dong that is exported, the locality is permitted to keep 600 dong to use as capital for the development of the forests. If Phu Khanh Province exports 40,000 cubic meters, it will have 24 million dong for the forests. In addition, our country can use various forms of joint businesses and cooperative businesses with foreign countries, primarily the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, in agro-forestry-fishing production and business or in tourism.

3. We must raise labor productivity, practice cost accounting and operate profitable businesses. It is necessary to rapidly abolish the administrative-subsidization management system. Implementing planning on many levels, formulating plans from the basic level upward and closely linking plans to cost accounting and to socialist business procedures will lead to high returns in economic activities. During the past several years, sources of capital have begun to emerge in Phu Khanh Province in the profitable production and business operations of a number of sectors. The marine products sector, which has begun to reorganize its production and expand its business, has doubled its catch compared to its supply and fuel plan. The mode of business of the commerce sector at the Dam Chon Market in Nha Trang has made a positive contribution to market management and price management and has collected cash for the budget. It is necessary to enact strict regulations governing production installations to insure that profits are collected, create locally accumulated capital, end

the practice of compensating for losses without a basis, require that economic organizations operate at a profit and create sources of capital for carrying out expanded reproduction.

4. Practicing strict economy, displaying high responsibility in maintaining socialist property and efficiently rearranging the production organization of each sector, each locality and each installation in order to achieve the highest possible economic returns are also a way to maintain and develop sources of capital. Many sectors and agencies can double their labor productivity merely by efficiently rearranging their labor organization.

In capital construction and production, we must practice economy with each hour of work and each gram of raw materials, fuels and supplies, make efficient use of each piece of equipment and machine and make full use of discarded materials and rejected products on the basis of advanced economic-technical quotas. In consumption, we must not be extravagant, must live on the basis of the results of the country's production and our own labor and must allocate good products for exportation.

In order to create sources of capital, we must first know how to properly maintain the things we have, which include our material-technical bases and potentials, must combat waste and theft and must avoid letting things lie scattered about, avoid losses and avoid reducing product quality. We must promptly inspect and properly maintain and use the property of the state. We must successfully regulate the income of persons who earn their livings in an illegitimate manner and who have much cash, must abolish the various forms of exploitation that exist and must turn their capital (both fixed assets and liquid capital) into capital of society or capital regulated by society.

5. A large source of capital within the locality also lies in the money of the people. We can mobilize this capital by means of many suitable forms and by adopting appropriate incentive policies. It is necessary to launch a revolutionary movement of the masses to participate in building socialism and defending the fatherland.

In summary, building the central economy while strongly developing the local economy by means of building an appropriate economic structure and management mechanism will create a combined strength and will help us to overcome the difficulties we face and move the economy strongly forward.

The immediate problem we face is that of strengthening the apparatus and assigning cadres so that the guidance we provide is truly effective. We face many difficulties but with the correct general line and economic line of the party, with our new experiences and new factors, with our spirit of self-reliance, with our new determination and confidence, we will surely create a combined strength with which to successfully fulfill the tasks and objectives set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party.

# FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 41.

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## IMPROVING PLANNING ON THE CENTRAL, LOCAL AND BASIC LEVELS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 23-30

[Article by Che Viet Tan]

[Text] The 5th Congress of the Party set forth the economic and social objectives for the 1980's, the guidelines and tasks of the 1981-1985 five year plan and the requirement that the 1981-1985 five year plan and the 1983 plan be formulated in accordance with the guideline of improving planning.

The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, which was presented by General Secretary Le Duan, stated: "In the advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, we absolutely must insure that the central, local and basic management levels are truly the masters of their plans, that is, that they truly formulate, balance, defend and implement their own plans and necessary to insure that plans are formulated from the basic level upward. Plans must thoroughly reflect the principles of cost accounting and socialist business."

Improving planning in the spirit mentioned above is designed to build a new, dynamic and effective management mechanism and insure good returns from the activities of the planned socialist economy.

The new planning mechanism, which embodies the principles of cost accounting and socialist business and replaces the old planning mechanism, which was restrictive, bureaucratic and characterized by subsidies and which increasingly became less dynamic and effective, is a mechanism that attaches importance to the principle of centralism; that attaches importance to broadening the practice of democracy; that attaches importance to the system of legal norms of the plan; that attaches importance to the use of the various economic levels; that taps the initiative and creativity of the locality and installation; that sets forth high requirements regarding discipline and responsibility; that constantly strengthens the various segments of the socialist economy while guiding the installations of the private economy, the subsidiary economy and so forth in conducting activities within the orb of the state plan.

The 1981-1985 five year plan and the 1983 plan will be formulated in the new spirit and will be integrated from the basic level upward in accordance with the

system of balances of the planning levels: the central level, the local level and the basic level. The system of plan balances consists of many aspects, many methods, many specific professions of the science of planning, among which the integrated balance method is the basic method of planning. Therefore, improving planning means improving the contents of the integrated balances on the central, local and basic levels in accordance with the principles of practicing democratic centralism, increasing the independence of the installation, the locality and the sector and, at the same time, insuring that the central level controls the elements that must be managed. The systems of balances on the various levels must be closely linked to one another within the unified economic structure of the entire country and must be subordinate to the balances of the entire national economy.

The local level: the socio-economic plan of the entire country (the state plan) consists of the integrated balances of the entire national economy and the comprehensive balances of the economic-technical sectors of the national economy. The state plan focuses on the fields of the economy that are of strategic importance, the primary norms, the important projects and products and the major material resources and value balances of the national economy. The economic-technical sectors also lie within the scope of the balances of the central plan. The nationwide sector balances must insure that scientific and technological advances are introduced in production and create the conditions for raising labor productivity, reducing production costs and improving product quality within the sector.

It is our policy in the years ahead to increase the independence in planning of the basic units, the sectors and the localities; however, centralized management by the central level must be maintained to the proper degree and at the proper times. We must abolish the restrictive, bureaucratic planning and management mechanism characterized by subsidization that is no longer suitable and has restricted production; at the same time, however, we must overcome our laxity regarding economic matters of nationwide significance and the major balances must be put under the management of the central level. The formulation of the socio-economic plan for the entire country requires that the following pressing problems be solved:

--We must evaluate the results of basic investigations achieved long ago and continue to intensify the basic investigations of natural resources, the population, labor, arable land and so forth while assessing the situation and accurately evaluating the capabilities of the sectors, localities, installations and the entire national economy.

--We must accelerate zoning and planning and lay a scientific basis for determining the guidelines and policy for distributing the production forces of the entire country.

--We must promote the formulation of socio-economic forecasts concerning such matters as the population and labor, the need for scientific-technological advances and the trends of development of a number of the most important economic-technical sectors.

--We must coordinate the economic plan with the scientific-technical plan; initiate the research of special matters regarding the economy, science-technology and the organization of management; and set forth objectives and norms for the 1981-1985 five year plan and, in particular, the 1983 plan regarding grain, food products, industrial crops, electricity, coal, petroleum and natural gas, exports and so forth.

--We must utilize mathematics and electronic computers in planning; promulgate a unified system of economic-technical quotas and standards regarding labor wages, supplies, the investment rate, the amount of time in which investment capital is recovered and the price system (fixed prices, current prices, exchange rate and so forth) to serve as the basis for formulating and guiding the implementation of the 1981-1985 five year plan and the yearly plan while preparing for the formulation of the 1986-1990 five year plan.

--We must correctly evaluate the economic, political and social situations of our country and the international situation, determine how they will develop in the coming period and, on this basis, establish a long-term and medium term socio-economic strategy and define steps to be taken that are suited to each stage, especially the present stage in the period of transition to socialism. We must formulate various economic plans and select the optimum plan as the basis for researching the economic development programs (10 years) for the years between now and 1990 and for the more distant future. In the immediate future, efforts must be focused on formulating a good 1983 plan in coordination with formulating the 1981-1985 five year plan.

--In the 5-year and yearly plans, we must gradually and properly establish the major relationships of the national economy, the relationships between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and the local economy, between transformation and construction, between accumulation and consumption, between the economy and the national defense system, between exports and imports, etc. We must establish and gradually perfect the system of integrated balance sheets on the gross social product, national income, capital investment, social labor, the state budget, the monetary receipts and expenditures of the population, overall credit, foreign currency, international payments and so forth and the system of balance sheets for the primary types of supplies and goods. We must prepare the conditions for establishing general financial balance sheets and joint sector balance sheets in the form of value and material resources for a number of the most important products of the national economy.

An important problem at this time is establishing the planning relationship among the central level, the local level and the sector. The resolution of the 5th Party Congress pointed out: the state plan must insure that the central level controls the strategic fields of the economy, the major balances, the primary norms and the important projects and products of the national economy." In accordance with the requirements of economic management during each period, the central level focuses its efforts on planning and managing the key sectors and economic installations and the jobs of vital importance in order to insure that the national economy develops in exact accordance with the

economic line and strategy of the party; at the same time, it boldly assigns responsibility and authority to and insures the interests of the installations, localities and sectors so that they can take the initiative in developing every potential for developing the economy and can try to meet their own needs without relying upon or waiting for the central level.

In the years ahead, as regards production, consumer goods and products that are essential for production throughout the country or within many sectors and many localities and main force export products (regardless of whether they are produced by the central economy or the local economy) will be under the exclusive management of and distributed by the central level (agricultural products and marine products of this type that are purchased and distributed by the state will be under the exclusive management of the state). In addition to the products mentioned above, the sectors and localities are permitted to produce and market a number of other products in accordance with the management policies and regulations of the state.

As regards supplies and equipment, the central level must closely manage and plan those supplies and types of equipment that have a major impact upon the main production and business tasks of many sectors and many localities and that occupy an important position in the structure of export goods during each planning period. In order to meet the needs of society in a flexible manner, those types of supplies and equipment that are not under the exclusive management of the central level can be assigned to the sectors, localities, federations of enterprises and enterprises to balance and use in the broadening of direct trade relations with one another through economic contracts and in accordance with the regulations of the state.

As regard labor wages, the state assigns a wage cost ceiling based on the volume of products or business to the material production sectors (the larger the volume of products, the larger the wage fund). As regards the non-material production sector, the state establishes the wage fund on the basis of the nature of each sector.

The installations, localities and sectors have the right to select and utilize labor on the basis of the state wage fund assigned to them and in accordance with the cost accounting system. Thus, the level of income of the laborer will depend upon the level of increase in labor productivity (wages are commensurate with labor productivity) and upon the economization of labor within the non-material production sectors.

As regards capital investments, it is necessary to adopt a tightly structured and effective investment planning system and necessary to establish a division of levels for the sectors and localities along the lines of increasing the independence and the responsibility of the localities and sectors in the formulation of capital investment plans, primarily on the basis of self-acquired capital and capital borrowed from the bank in order to insure a balance between capital and building materials. The central level should only allocate capital to a



locality that lacks the necessary capabilities, especially localities in the mountains or localities that have important projects requiring the assistance of the central level. The capital allocated by the central level should only account for a portion of the capital invested in accordance with the principle of reclaiming capital; the central level should not provide capital in a sweeping, decentralized manner that creates a waste of capital.

In the present stage of the period of transition to socialism, various economic-technical sectors are in the process of being formed. Planning by economic-technical sector is gradually being carried out under requirements and methods consistent with the situation and characteristics of each sector, with actual management and planning capabilities.

As regards the important economic-technical sectors that produce primary products of the economy (strategic supplies, main export goods, essential consumer goods and so forth), that have achieved a high level of agglomeration and centralization and in which sector-wide federations of enterprises or federated enterprises have formed, such as electric power, coal, iron, steel, rubber, tea and so forth, we must increase the independence of the federation of enterprises in the planning of production and business and establish financial autonomy throughout the sector. With the exception of a number of ministries and general departments that directly manage production and business installations, the organizations and operations of the specialized sector ministries and general departments must be shifted entirely to administrative-economic management.

As regards those economic-technical sectors that are partially directly managed by the central level and partially directly managed by the local level, the ministry or general department has the task of conducting comprehensive planning, such as planning the development of the sector; establishing scientific-technological guidelines; supplying the special purpose materials and equipment of the sector; training cadres and manual workers and so forth. The local government bears the primary responsibility for planning those operations of the sector that are under the direct management of the local level.

The local level (the province, municipality, district and so forth): the plan of the locality must be comprehensively balanced on the scope of the entire territory of the locality (which includes the integrated balances and the sector balances within the territory). At present, comprehensive balancing on the scope of a territory is only being carried out for the administrative territories of the provinces, municipalities and special zone that are directly subordinate to the central level and encompasses the balances of the services and bureaus and the balances of the districts, precincts, cities and municipalities subordinate to the province, including the balances of the committees, sectors and so forth.

The plan for the territory of the province, municipality and special zone directly subordinate to the central level consists of a portion that is directly managed by the locality and the plans of the units within the territory that are directly managed by the central level. These two portions of the plan are

closely related to each other. The objective of the plan for the territory is to regulate and coordinate each production and business activity of the sectors within each territory and insure mutual help between the central economy and the good development of each potential lying in the labor, arable land, natural resources, trades, production experiences and traditions and so forth within the territory.

The portion of the local plan that is directly managed by the province or municipality consists of comprehensive requirements regarding the development of the economy, culture and society, the strengthening of the national defense system and the improvement of the living conditions of the people. We must increase the independence of the locality by insuring that the locality is truly the master of its plan, accelerating specialization and cooperation in production with a view toward developing each potential of the locality as highly as possible, expanding trade relations with the various sectors and other localities and using export activities to meet the needs of production and everyday life of the locality and directly support the central economic installations within the locality. The locality has the obligation and responsibility to implement the legal plan norms assigned to it, especially the norms on military recruiting, the transfer of labor, purchases, the delivery of products, exports, the collection of taxes and the collection of other revenue for the central level. On the basis of completing the legal plan norms, the locality has the right to arrange its comprehensive plan.

Our party has affirmed that the district is a comprehensive planning level for socio-economic development and the strengthening of the national defense system. The building of the district economy must be closely linked to the strengthening of cooperatives and must be carried out in accordance with suitable models for each type district; generally speaking, however, it is necessary to strongly develop the main production sector, agriculture(including forestry and fishing), take positive steps to expand small industry and the artisan trades, especially the trades supporting agriculture, build material-technical bases supporting the needs of economic development within the district, provide incentive for the development of the family economy and transform and correctly utilize the other segments of the economy.

The plan of the district is a component of the comprehensive plan of the province or municipality and is based on the guidelines, tasks, planning and plan of the province or municipality. It is necessary to correct the tendency to formulate district plans as a self-contained plan and not closely link it to the planning and plans of the province and municipality.

The district plan must focus on reorganizing production and redistributing social labor while giving attention to providing a job for everyone who is able to work by means of including within its investment guidelines and production guidelines crops and species of livestock that yield high economic returns and increase the income of the people. Through the redistribution of social labor, the redistribution of the population and the reorganization of production within each economic unit, it is necessary to organize economic relations among the

various economic units (agricultural cooperatives, small industry and artisan cooperatives, the supply and commerce stations, farms and stores, etc.). The planning of the district demands the widespread and flexible application of the various forms of indirect planning: the commodity-money relations (market relations, the use of the market in plans) and the various economic levers in order to have an impact upon the objects of planning.

When formulating the plan of the district, it is necessary to do so on the basis of the labor and land situation within the district, necessary to take into consideration the possibility of developing the sectors and trade, necessary to endeavor to meet those needs that can be met locally, primarily the need for grain and food products, and necessary to develop sericulture, the production of fiber bearing plants and so forth in order to gradually resolve the clothing problem and insure that the quantity of goods delivered to the province and the central level is equal to or larger than the quantity of goods received by the district from the province and the central level.

The district plan must combine the plans of the villages and subwards. The district must help the villages and subwards formulate their plans. In villages that have virtually completed agricultural cooperativization, the economic plans are formulated by the cooperatives and the village level combines the economic plans of the cooperatives along with the other plan norms regarding the culture, education, public health and society and balances the plan within the village. In villages in which the majority of people are still in the private economy or production collectives and production cooperative teams are still on a low level, the village level must take charge of formulating and balancing the socio-economic plan for the entire village.

The basic units, the enterprises, cooperatives and so forth, which are the places that directly implement the state-plan, occupy an extremely important position. As regards the installations within the state-operated economy, the effort to correct the malady of subsidization and bureaucratic centralism in planning must be closely linked to broadening the independence of the installation in the correct direction and in a manner consistent with the general economic conditions and management level of the entire country.

The installation plan must reflect creativity, self-assumed responsibility and initiative in production and business on the basis of the principle of financial autonomy and on the basis of respecting the management policies and regulations of the state, insuring that the norms of the state plan are implemented well, covering production costs and earning a profit, contributing more and more to the country, improving collective welfare and providing appropriate material incentive to laborers.

On the basis of insuring the fulfillment of the tasks assigned by the upper level, the basic unit has the right to determine the contents of the comprehensive plan of the enterprise and the specific forms and measures to be employed to implement the plan in exact accordance with the policies, regulations and laws of the state.

The broadening of authority must go hand in hand with the strengthening of discipline and responsibility: the enterprise must fulfill its obligation to fully implement the legal norms assigned by the upper level; in particular, it must deliver the products and submit the funds required under the plan and the financial regulations of the state. The standard for evaluating whether or not it is correct and reasonable to broaden the independence of the enterprise is the degree to which the three economic interests (of society, of the unit's collective and of the individual laborer) are united on the basis of raising labor productivity, practicing economy and achieving high economic returns in production and business.

Closely linked to the reorganization of the production installations and the rearrangement of the economic structure is the need to improve planning at the installations, to formulate and integrate plans from the basic level upward. The legal plan that is assigned by the upper level to the enterprise must be a plan that is formulated by the enterprise on the basis of balancing realistic conditions, including materials supplied by the state and materials procured by the enterprise itself. If the upper level assigns legal norms that are higher than those formulated by the enterprise itself, steps must be taken to establish a balance for the enterprise. In addition to the products that are assigned by the state in accordance with the legal plan, it is necessary to adopt policies that provide incentive for the enterprise to make full use of discarded materials, equipment and labor to produce additional subsidiary products, perform services, produce products under contracts and so forth in order to meet the needs of society; however, it is necessary to avoid such phenomena as taking raw materials from the production of main products to make subsidiary products or, as some factories have done, keeping for the production of their subsidiary products discarded materials that have long been the primary raw materials of other production installations, etc.

As regards the collective economy, planning is carried out primarily by the indirect mode. The impact of planning upon the agricultural production cooperatives is seen in all areas: zoning, planning, the establishment of production guidelines, the building of material-technical bases and the supplying of technical materials and essential consumer goods. In the present situation, the state should only assign one legal plan norm, the norm on the delivery or sale of products to the state, a norm which should be stabilized for a period of 5 years in terms of the list of products and the volume of products being contributed or sold. At the same time, the state should establish a stable level of supplies and services (the preparation of fields by machine, farmland water conservancy and so forth) to be provided for the production of the cooperative and should establish balance (in terms of value) between the supplies and services provided to the cooperative by the state and the products sold to the state by the cooperative. On this basis, the cooperative has the authority to arrange the comprehensive plan of the unit, establish the most profitable production structure and take the initiative in organizing production and distribution within the cooperative.

As regards the small industry and artisan cooperatives (which includes those in salt production, fishing, the processing of marine products, the harvesting and processing of timber and forestry products), the planning system is implemented through sector or trade planning, through the supplying of raw materials, supplies, machinery and equipment, through the organizing of economic relations based on various forms of product groups, "satellites" and so forth, through the implementation of measures regarding taxes, prices, economic contracts, loans and so forth and by means of treating cooperatives equally and guiding cooperatives in operating their businesses in accordance with the guidelines and objectives of the state plan. It is necessary to reduce the scope of and eventually abolish the present administrative style of contracting and broaden the scope of contracts for the sale of raw materials and the purchase of products. We must employ the contractor mode of operation in a suitable manner in order to encourage artisans and handicraftsmen to boldly create and design new products, thereby increasing the variety of products available.

The family economy and the private economy will continue to exist for a long time to come. The activities within these segments of the economy are the activities of private handicraftsmen and artisans in the cities, private farmers in a number of areas in which cooperativization has not been completed, persons engaged in the services and small merchants who have been reorganized in a rational manner because they are still necessary in the circulation of goods. The planning system must have the effect of managing and guiding the private economy and the family economy so that they develop in the correct direction, thereby meeting the daily needs of these persons and meeting a portion of the varied needs of society.

As regards the private economy, the state employs indirect planning and utilizes primarily policies and economic levers combined with administrative measures (laws, taxes, registration and so forth). The state allows the persons within this sector to carry out production through contracts with the state so that they can contribute additional wealth to society and satisfy their own legitimate interests; at the same time, however, it is necessary to prevent such actions as pilfering raw materials from the state, failing to deliver all the products required under contracts, engaging in speculation, hoarding and so forth, which are violations of the law and of management policies.

To insure that the objectives and norms of the plan are met on all levels (the central level, the local level and the basic level), it is necessary to supplement the system of the various types of plans of the planned economy with various types of work plans. The formulation of various types of work plans (which are used to manage jobs) is primarily designed to organize the implementation of the important norms of the state plan or build important economic zones. The work plans are approved by the various levels, which guide the implementation of these plans and supplement them so that they are consistent with the actual situation.

Improving planning on the various levels (the central level, the local level and the basic level) in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism,

insuring that the requirements of socialist business management and cost accounting are met and using the plan as the center will open the prospects for improving the quality, effectiveness and discipline of plans and insure that the various types of balances, the integrated balances of the entire country, the sector balances, the local balances and the balances of the installations, are carefully calculated. The improvement of the plans on the central level, the local level and the basic level and the formulation of these plans in a positive and sound manner will surely make a positive contribution to the building of the new economic management mechanism and the correct implementation of the economic guidelines set forth by the 5th Congress of the Party for the 1981-1985 five year plan, thereby gradually bringing about a new change, gradually bringing stability to our country's economy and moving it forward in the years ahead.

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## STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPING COST ACCOUNTING AND ESTABLISHING THE FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE ENTERPRISE

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[Article by Vo Tri Cao]

[Text] For many years during the war, our state's budget was virtually a balanced budget. During the war, production and business enterprises and organizations were forced to accept limited financial independence under various forms and methods of state financial management that required a balance between revenues and expenditures.

Since peace was restored throughout the country, the following situation has existed: the state budget has been a deficit budget and financial discipline has not been strictly maintained; expenditure needs have not involved the calculation of economic returns; expenditures have had to be made at a time when sources of revenue have not been found; enterprises, installations and the lower level have relied upon the upper level and demanded that the upper level allocate capital to them while they themselves have given little attention to fulfilling their obligation to contribute accumulated money to the state and develop their capital; socialist property and labor have not been preserved and protected nor have they been fully or effectively utilized. The forms and methods of balanced finances became sweeping subsidies. The subsidization began with decisions to make state budget expenditures without calculating the minimum returns that had to be achieved and without taking into consideration the sources of capital that were needed to provide revenues for these expenditures; however, these decisions did not have the purpose of achieving a socio-economic policy objective of the party and did not result in a unified financial policy.

This subsidization has been revealed and criticized by the party and state, which have required that it be eliminated. We have no better way to eliminate it than by strengthening and developing cost accounting and upholding the financial independence of the enterprises and economic organizations under the centralized, unified leadership of the party and state in the process of building socialism.

Cost accounting is a principle and, at the same time, a method of socialist economic management in which centralized, unified leadership through the state

plan is closely coordinated with tapping the initiative and creativity of the masses on the basis of applying economic laws and economic levers, primarily the law of value and the commodity-money relationships. On the basis of the plan assigned to them, the enterprises and organizations that practice cost accounting may take the initiative in organizing each of their production and business activities with a view toward thoroughly and effectively developing each capability that lies in their labor, materials, capital and so forth, meeting and exceeding the state plan assigned to them with the lowest possible costs, insuring increasingly large profits in their production and business and correctly satisfying all three interests: the interests of the state, the interests of the enterprise's collective and the interests of the individual laborer.

Cost accounting consists of the measures involved in allocating capital, assigning tasks and authority, providing economic stimulus and encouraging everyone to be concerned with the final results of production and business while accepting ultimate responsibility for actions that cause economic waste and harm production and business.

Practicing cost accounting that consists of the measures presented above requires that certain conditions exist:

1. The production organization must be suited to the level of development of production; the enterprise must have clearly defined guidelines and production tasks and must establish and gradually stabilize the relationships involved in the supplying of materials, the marketing of products, purchases and sales, payments and the repayment of loans and so forth in order to insure that production operations are stable.
2. The enterprise must fully comply with the laws of the state, which are manifested first in the production task and norms of the state plan assigned to the enterprise; on the other hand, the enterprise is given the authority needed to display its initiative, creativity and independence in business.
3. Prices must insure that the enterprise can, under normal operating conditions, compensate for all costs and earn a profit; the currency must be sufficiently stable so that it can be used as a measurement of the value of goods and is of practical effect in the economic activities of the enterprise.

Cost accounting has a process of formation and development that is consistent with the economic situation of the country, with the mechanism employed by the state to manage the production and business operations of the enterprise and with the ability of the enterprise itself to exercise ownership. Despite this, in each stage of its formation and development, cost accounting must insure that the four following basic principles are met:

- Maintain the relative independence of the enterprise in production and business;
- The enterprise must meet its own costs and earn a profit in its business;



--The enterprise must be given material incentive and must bear material responsibility for the results of its production and business operations;

--Every production and business activity must be inspected by means of money.

In the war, in the effort to overcome the aftereffects of the war and, in particular, since the country was totally liberated, economic and social changes have occurred but the failure of the economic management system to keep pace with these changes has caused cost accounting to become increasingly ineffective. The production organization is unstable and many production installations have not been provided with the material conditions needed to operate and develop; the shortage of supplies and energy has created a serious imbalance in production and consumption. The management organization has routinely changed, being centralized at some times and decentralized at others. The system of prices is becoming increasingly divorced from value and major changes in prices on the "free" market have had a strong impact upon wages and bonuses. The currency is unstable and is no longer an accurate measurement of value. The various categories of value used by the state, such as capital, profits, revenues, wages and bonuses have been gradually losing their stimulative effect. Many economic and financial policies and regulations within the management mechanism that have been in existence since before the war or since the years of the war and have not been promptly revised to be consistent with the vastly changed economic situation have had a negative impact upon production; the interests of the enterprise collective and of laborers themselves have been violated and the common interests of the nation economy have not been satisfied. In summary, the premises and conditions needed for cost accounting have not been provided, the fundamental principles of cost accounting have not been respected and socio-economic returns have seriously declined. The total output value per dong of production capital in virtually all state-operated industrial sectors has declined. The results of this situation are that the enterprises that practice cost accounting are unable to successfully meet their costs and fulfill their obligation to contribute accumulated capital for inclusion in the state budget; conversely, the state budget has had to allocate too much to enterprises.

In the years ahead, the state must create the premises and conditions needed for enterprises to implement cost accounting:

1. The production guidelines of the enterprises must be stabilized. The state must help each enterprise establish a clearly defined production task, stabilize its products and acquire material means (fixed capital, liquid capital, technical workers, professional cadres, technical cadres and so forth) that are coordinated and balanced with the assigned task. The enterprise must plan its production and business in accordance with the state's guidelines for the improvement of planning.
2. On the basis of the results achieved in the field of improving the system of prices, especially enterprise wholesale prices, and the wage system, it is necessary to gradually stabilize the currency, thereby creating for enterprises a precise and reliable measurement of capital calculations, costs, production

costs, financial results and the distribution of income and insuring that enterprises can meet every cost on their own and operate their businesses at a profit.

3. It is necessary to improve and perfect the system of economic-technical standards and quotas on the state level, the sector level and the enterprise level, among which the ceilings on the consumption and stockpiling of materials, labor quotas, technical standards and product quality standards are of special importance. Within the space of approximately 5 years, we must endeavor to develop for our national economy a relatively complete system of economic-technical standards and quotas, one that is consistent with the level of production and management and is a reasonable social measurement of each expenditure of live labor and embodied labor under the production and business conditions of our country.

4. It is necessary to re-examine and approve a number of management policies and regulations (primarily regarding labor, materials, finances, credit, economic contracts, science, technology and so forth) in order to create full conditions for enterprises to exercise independence in production and business and exercise financial independence while maintaining centralized, unified leadership and upholding the laws of the state. Management policies and regulations must be improved in such a way that, on the basis of maintaining the unity of the three interests (the interests of the state, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer), they encourage everyone to fully concern themselves with and bear ultimate responsibility for the results and returns from the enterprises' production and business.

5. It is necessary to consolidate and strengthen state accounting discipline and initiate routine and systematic inspections of the production and business activities of enterprises and their compliance with state financial economic laws. We must promptly expose and harshly deal with every act of misappropriation and waste, every violation of socialist property and every violation of the law.

6. We must implement the commander system in conjunction with upholding the right of collective ownership of manual workers and civil servants. The state must grant enterprise directors the full authority needed to take the initiative in production and business and give them responsibilities that are commensurate with their authority; at the same time, it must create favorable conditions for manual workers and civil servants to complete the tasks assigned to them and effectively participate in the management of the enterprise, from the formulation and implementation of its plan to the distribution of income.

Together with creating the basic premises and conditions needed for enterprises to implement cost accounting, the state must take a number of immediate steps, such as taking an inventory of and re-evaluating the production capacity of enterprises; re-examining and adjusting the system of economic-technical quotas of enterprises to be consistent with present production conditions; improving a number of financial policies and regulations with a view toward insuring the business and financial independence of the enterprises; expanding the

implementation of the various forms of contract wages and piecework wages; reorganizing accounting, statistical and economic information work; broadening the authority and increasing the responsibility of enterprise directors; gradually developing and perfecting enterprise internal cost accounting, etc.

Implementing cost accounting means implementing the system of financial independence of production and business units; it closely links the planning system to the system for inspecting the returns from and the responsibility in implementing the state plan, thereby encouraging creativity on the part of the installation.

In 1977, the Council of Ministers promulgated the model state-operated enterprise statutes, which were applied first in industry. The statutes record the process of researching and improving state-operated enterprise management within the national economy, stimulating creativity and innovations on the part of the installations, broadening the independence of the enterprise in production and business and asserting the enterprise's ownership of the various sources of financial capital in order to develop the economy, increase the ability of the enterprise to contribute to the state and strengthen and expand cost accounting.

The principles of cost accounting defined by the Council of Ministers are that the enterprise has economic-financial independence, is an individual under the law, meets all its own costs by means of its own sources of income, earns a profit, bears material responsibility, receives material incentives and inspects each of its activities by means of money. The period in which enterprises consciously and successfully implement these principles in the establishment of economic relations to insure the implementation of the tasks of the state plan, in the formation, maintenance and development of sources of self-acquired capital, in the payment of wages and bonuses to laborers on the basis of the final results of the national economy and in heightening the economic significance of inspection by means of money, of strengthening and developing cost accounting along the lines of practicing full cost accounting is also the period in which enterprises have matured in the area of financial independence.

In order to establish the premises and conditions needed for enterprises to implement cost accounting and establish financial independence, the state must successfully bring about comprehensive and basic changes in the fields of reorganizing production, improving planning and the policies on economic levers and improving the management organization and cadre organization.

As regards improving planning, there was a tendency not long ago to maintain that it was necessary to restrict the scope of planning by the central state and expand the planning capabilities and scope of the localities and installations so that state plan tasks become more flexible. However, when the position and role of state plan norms decline, infringements upon the interests of the national economy emerge, the compulsory nature of state plan tasks is not as strong as it once was and the responsibility of many persons toward the development of the national economy when establishing the relationship among the three interests (society, the collective and the individual) declines.

In actuality, laxity in planning has led to a situation in which the investment capital of the state has not been sufficiently concentrated in order to complete key projects and the capacity of existing factories of the state is not being fully utilized at a time when a number of factories of the same type have been invested in and completely constructed by localities or sectors. At a time when many installations of the state are not receiving a full supply of materials and energy in order to complete the tasks of their state plan, there are significant quantities of state materials and energy at one place or another that are said to be backlogged, are said to be surplus materials and energy that do not have the proper specifications or are not of the proper quality or are self-created materials and energy that are mobilized and utilized outside the state plan, with the results of their use being distributed in accordance with separate regulations of the basic unit. At a time when the state has not centralized sufficient goods and money to insure the supply of goods to cadres, manual workers and civil servants in accordance with ration standards, some cadres, manual workers and civil servants in accordance with ration standards, some cadres, manual workers and civil servants in a number of sectors and localities are receiving incomes that are many times higher than the uniform income levels stipulated by the state.

The facts presented above have caused many ministries and localities to realize their responsibility to work together to formulate state plan tasks as correctly as possible and work together to calculate, as fully as possible, both the needs and capabilities for developing the production of the sector and the locality in each stage of reproduction on the basis of the party's tasks of building socialism and strengthening the national defense system. Only on this basis can the management agencies of the state assign state plan tasks to subordinate enterprises and organizations that are fully based on accurate foundations and are of a strict legal nature. Only in this way can the state mobilize enterprises and economic organizations to display the sense of collective ownership, focus each of their efforts on creatively carrying out the tasks of the state plan assigned by the upper level with high results, insure the correct implementation of the policy on the development of production, make positive contributions to the creation of balances within the national economy and insure the actual capabilities needed to gradually satisfy the material and cultural needs of society and meet the interests of the working people.

In recent years, at a time when difficulties have been encountered in everyday life, a tendency has emerged to want to reduce the contribution of products, services and accumulated money to the state by enterprises and economic organizations in order to enable the improvement of the living conditions of cadres and manual workers. This tendency has developed on the basis of the need to improve the living conditions of cadres and manual workers and the hope of stimulating the development of production by means of measures to improve the welfare of the persons who directly produce products.

It is true that the interests of direct production workers must be satisfied so that the reproduction of labor can be carried out; however, the interests of each person must lie within a reasonable relationship between the interests of the workers at the different enterprises and the interests of society and the

collective. In order to establish a reasonable relationship, the state must regularly adjust the interests of each person, interests that are manifested partially in material resources and partially in money. The measures arising from the tendency mentioned above are only correct when the state agrees to make adjustments. Every automatic withholding of products and accumulated money for distribution in accordance with the separate decisions of individual installations, organizations and localities leads to harming the interests of the state and the people.

Therefore, the agencies of the state have gradually recognized the need to not only concern themselves with insuring that the enterprises and economic organizations that meet their own costs have sources with which to provide economic incentive to cadres and manual workers, but also with insuring that enterprises and economic organizations actively participate in the formation of the centralized sources of goods and money of the state. The purposes of this are to insure the interests of direct production and production support workers, strengthen and develop cost accounting and eventually implement full cost accounting. The opposite of this would reduce the consciousness of making contributions to the state and gradually reduce the inherent socialist, state-operated nature of the enterprise.

As regards the responsibility for deploying management cadre, the ministries and localities have gradually come to see the need to increase the number of cadres who are competent in economic work in the economic management apparatus of the enterprises and economic organizations as well as the state. Without dependable, competent and properly assigned cadres, the state cannot strengthen and develop cost accounting. More than a few authorized agencies of the state have established enterprises and organizations that practice cost accounting but have not assigned an adequate number of the right management cadres to them or have assigned such persons but these persons have proven to be incompetent, consequently, these units find themselves facing many difficulties and the state has had to compensate for too many losses on their part.

In the immediate future, in order to abolish subsidization, the state can and must determinedly refuse every request for allocations of capital from the state budget when it is considered that these allocations will not provide economic returns, will not have an impact upon the effort to achieve the objectives of the socio-economic policy of the party, will not insure the uniform implementation of the distribution policy and will not result in new sources of capital for allocation. At the same time, the state must encourage the strengthening and development of cost accounting in order to expand and uphold the financial independence of the enterprise. Only in this way is it possible to abolish subsidization at its roots.

The state can strengthen and develop cost accounting by means of strengthening the economic management function of the state on the central and local levels in everything from the formation and the unified implementation of economic policies, the reorganization of production, the improvement of planning and the prompt assigning of precise state plan tasks to the units that practice cost accounting to discovering, promoting, training and assigning cadres so that every cost accounting unit has the management cadres required by its task; on the

other hand, we must be determined to not put into production and business operations enterprises and economic organizations that have not deployed a well coordinated force of dependable management cadres. In this process, the state must encourage enterprises and economic organizations to exercise their financial independence in accordance with the law together with the voluntary and increasingly full implementation of cost accounting by the enterprises and economic organizations. Coordination such as that mentioned above between the planning of the state and the cost accounting of enterprises and economic organizations has appeared and is taking shape.

Although the state must expand its effort to encourage financial independence on the part of enterprises, it must set a necessary limit to this independence so that the enterprises can operate as fully as possible in accordance with the unified management of the state and under the leadership of the party. This limit is the limit at which the enterprise may use the various sources of capital allocated by the state and the funds that it is permitted by law to establish and use for the purpose of developing production and services at levels of quality that are accepted by society without harming the balances of the state plan but while insuring that the enterprises meets its costs on its own and earns a profit in order to increase the contribution of revenues to the state, increase the amount of self-acquired capital for supporting the expanded reproduction of the enterprise and increasing the income of the cadres and manual workers within the enterprise in accordance with the regulations of the state.

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## THE POPULATION EXPLOSION AND THE PRESSURE CAUSED BY IT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 38-42, 70

[Article by Le Nang An]

[Text] For many years, our party and state have had the policy of reducing the rate of population growth in order to create balance between population growth and the development of the economy, culture and society. In the report on the guidelines, tasks and main objectives regarding the economy and society during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985 and for the 1980's, which was presented at the 5th Congress of the Party Pham Van Dong stated:

"We must intensify the educational effort, mobilize and determinedly apply a number of administrative-economic measures and, at the same time, create every favorable condition possible for the people to carry out the planned parenthood movement in order to reduce the country's average rate of population growth from 2.4 percent per year to 1.7 percent by 1985."(1) This is a policy of utmost significance.

The population in Vietnam is increasing strongly and rapidly. The population has been doubling about once every 35 to 40 years:

- In 1921, the population of Vietnam was about 15,584,000.
- In 1960, the population of Vietnam was 30,172,000.
- In 1979, the population of Vietnam was 52,741,000.

In 10 years, from 1960 to 1970, the population of the North grew by slightly less than 10 million persons, which is greater than the population of the Bulgarian People's Republic, than the population of many countries in Europe, such as Belgium, Portugal, Greece, etc.

Specialists in statistics and planning in our country have projected that if the population continues to increase at its present rate, our country's population will, by the year 2000, reach 90 million, which is an alarming level, is difficult to accept and will exert tremendous pressure in many fields throughout the country.

The rapid growth of the population has primarily been due to a high birthrate.(2) At present, many Vietnamese families have 2 to 4 children; in the countryside, many families have as many as 6 children; and, in the South, families with 10 children are not unusual.

Specialists on the State Planning Commission have estimated that:

--If every family has 3 children, the country's population will be 80 million by the year 2000;

--If every family has 2 children, the country's population will be between 64 million and 65 million by the year 2000.

As a result, mobilizing every family to have only 2 to 3 children is of major significance in the policy to limit the growth of the population.

The rapid population growth has brought much pressure to bear upon various areas of life, such as the production of grain, the development of education, the distribution of the population and labor, the protection of the environment, the effort to provide jobs, etc.

Here, we shall only present a number of the main aspects of this problem.

The rapid growth of the population has created very large pressure, primarily with regard to the supply of grain.

The growth of the population demands a corresponding increase in the output of grain; this is evident to everyone. Our country's level of grain production and other objective difficulties have not permitted us to create this balance between the population and the output of grain.

The indices on agricultural growth in our country are as follows (1975=100):

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Crop Production</u>		<u>Livestock Production</u>	
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Grain Crops</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Grain Crops</u>
1975	100	100	100	100	100
1976	110.2	112.4	117.5	100.7	105.1
1977	104.8	103.8	108.0	108.5	96.4
1978	104.9	107.9	107.9	94.2	87.1
1979	112.0	115.0	120.0	104.5	105.1

(Based on data of the Statistics General Department, 1979)

Between 1975 and 1979, despite a positive campaign, the population of our country increased by about 5 million or by an average of roughly 1 million persons per year; meanwhile, total agricultural output value did not increase by much and even declined one year, including the output of grain and livestock products.(3)



Here, we are only talking about grain for consumption, not about how good this grain tastes or how nutritious it is nor are we discussing the other requirements in life, such as the needs for clothing, medicine, shelter, etc.

The population of Vietnam has grown rapidly and is characterized by the fact that the percentage of persons who are unable to work (children up to 14 years of age) is very high, 42.5 percent of the population. (The corresponding percentages in other countries are: the Soviet Union: 29.5 percent; Poland: 27.6 percent; Bulgaria: 22.6 percent; the GDR: 20.6 percent; Hungary: 25.4 percent; Czechoslovakia: 24.8 percent; Great Britain: 23.7 percent; Canada: 32.9 percent; the United States: 30.1 percent; Japan: 24.8 percent; France: 24.6 percent; and the German Federal Republic: 22.9 percent)

An increasingly large number of children means a high birthrate and an ever lower death rate. In the future, this large number of children will constitute a very valuable labor potential. In the immediate future, however, these children constitute a large component of the population, which each family and society must care for and raise.

The cost of raising children cannot be conceived as "what nature wrought--nature provides for." Fully calculated, these costs consist of appropriate expenditures on the birth of a child by its mother, the cost of raising children, the other costs incurred until a child finishes elementary school and the income of the mother that is lost in some families as a result of the mother having to stay home to raise her children. A mother who has given birth to many children at close intervals under economic circumstances in which the family is encountering difficulties obviously cannot raise her children in a thorough manner.

The needs of children which society has the responsibility of meeting are many but the most important one is the need to develop education.

The quality of education must be supported by material conditions, primarily by the size and quality of the corps of teachers. At present, the number of students per teacher on each level of education is still rather high. On the basic general school level, the average is 51.3 while on the middle school level, the average is 18.2.<sup>(4)</sup> Due to the shortage of teachers, those who teach must work very hard and this affects the quality of education. The quality of education is also dependent upon other conditions, such as the material bases, equipment and textbooks for schools and the regulations and policies regarding teachers. These conditions require significant investments on the part of the state and the people but our budget is limited.

At present, due to the very large need to develop classrooms and schools and due to the consequences of the war, 40 percent of schools are still temporary "bamboo and thatch" buildings. On the kindergarten level, each classroom is used for 2.05 classes; on the basic general school level, each classroom is used for 2.05 classes and, on the middle school level, each classroom is used for 1.5 classes. As regards seats, there is one seat for every 2.69 children in kindergarten, one seat for every 1.72 children in basic level general schools and one seat for every 1.3 students in middle schools.

The facts presented above explain why the schools must still hold many "sessions" and why they find it difficult to maintain the quality of education.(5)

The rapid increase in the number of children demands that schools be developed. In the case in which it is not possible to establish a balance between requirements and capabilities, a low level of development and a decline in the development of education, both in terms of the scale and the quality of education, are difficult to avoid.

If the birthrate and the rate of population growth continue to develop at their present high levels, what will happen to the quality of education?

Persons of work age (men between the ages of 15 and 60 and women between the ages of 15 and 55), who constitute 52.7 percent of the population and number slightly less than 30 million, are a large social labor force. This percentage is 75.9 percent in the countryside and 24.1 percent in the cities (data of the Statistics General Department, Hanoi, 1980).

Under our country's circumstances, 1 million persons reach work age each year. If production conditions do not increase in order to develop the sectors and trades in a manner balanced with the increases in the labor force, how is it possible to provide full employment for everyone?(6) This is one objective cause of the many upheavals and negative phenomena in economic and social life.

The North, which has a population of 28 million, has 2 million hectares of farmland or an average of less than 2 sao Bac Bo per capita; the South has a population of 26 million and 3 million hectares of cropland.

In the Red River Delta, the population density is quite high, from 280 to 850 persons per square kilometer; in the Mekong River Delta, the density is lower, from 150 to 500 persons per square kilometer. There are even places at which the population density is very high, such as the three large municipalities: the capital Hanoi has a population density of 1,202 persons per square kilometer; Haiphong has a population density of 863 persons per square kilometer; and Ho Chi Minh City has a population density of 1,686 persons per square kilometer.

All of these factors combine to create much pressure and make it very difficult to meet the needs for housing, food, water, energy, communications, transportation, sanitation and services in the cities; there is a shortage of cropland but at a time when there are too many people in the densely populated rural areas. Life itself has raised the issue: there must be a reasonable distribution of the population and labor and we must implement reasonable population planning in the cities and the countryside in order for life to be comfortable everywhere in our country.

If the birthrate continues to rise and if it is not rapidly reduced, especially in the densely populated areas and the cities, what will the quality of life be?

What can we do?

Although a very strong and very rapid increase in the population is not the only cause of poverty (there are many other economic and social causes), it must be seen as an important factor that has an impact upon the development and the quality of the life of all of society.

The reciprocal impact between the rate of population growth and the entire development of society as well as between the rate of population growth and the quality of life is a matter in the nature of a law, is a cause and effect relationship.

1. We must intensify the educational effort so that everyone understands the population phenomena and the reciprocal impact between increases in the population and socio-economic development as well as between increases in the population and the quality of the life of society as well as the life of each family and each person, thereby creating a correct social conscience, a correct social attitude and correct public opinion and implementing the policy to reduce the rate of population growth in our country, the more rapidly the better.

The information apparatus, the press, radio, television and the means of public propaganda must be effectively mobilized for this educational campaign.

2. The most basic, dependable and long-range measure is to incorporate the teaching of issues regarding the population in the curricula of the schools within the general school system, from the low classes of the basic general schools to the high classes. Why? Because, in 1 decade, the young men and women within the general schools will have become parents. They must be well prepared in terms of their knowledge, qualifications, will and sentiments so that they adopt the correct attitude, hold correct concepts, take correct actions and are the masters of their lives in the field of building their families, determining the size of their families, caring for and raising their children and insuring the quality of the family's life.

The schools within the standard and non-standard adult education systems and the systems of colleges, vocational middle schools and trade training schools must also incorporate population studies as a mandatory part of their training curricula.

In the world today, especially in the densely populated, developing countries, teaching population issues within the schools is considered important and is done on a regular basis.

3. Persons who are parents and are still of child bearing age or persons who will be parents in the very near future must be educated and encouraged to practice planned parenthood and it must be made very convenient for them to practice planned parenthood. They must be introduced to and fully and thoroughly trained in the objectives, the methods and the techniques of limiting childbirth and implementing family planning.

The mass organizations, such as the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Women's Union and the Trade Union, play a very important role in teaching their members,

especially those who are of child bearing age, to practice planned parenthood and establish families of the new culture.

Young men and women must be taught and encouraged to not start families too early and even to plan getting married at an older age, the older the better.

In recent years, we have intensified the planned parenthood campaign and achieved a number of results. However, these results are still very low. For example, of the approximately 10 million women of child bearing age, that is, between the ages of 19 and 49, only about 2 million are using birth control measures (according to data compiled by the Institute for the Protection of Mothers and Newborns).

The planned parenthood campaign must meet all of the following objectives: reducing the birthrate, protecting the health of mothers and children, reducing the mortality rate of children who die from malnutrition, improving the social conditions of women and helping each husband and wife to maintain the size of their family.

4. On the basis of maintaining a regular, steadfast educational effort, strong administrative-economic measures must be taken to insure that the programs and measures that have been established regarding family planning and planned parenthood are effectively implemented.

These policies are designed to:

--Encourage and appropriately reward, both materially and psychologically, young men and women who marry late, married couples that have only two children and women who thoroughly practice planned parenthood. On the other hand, it is necessary to gradually reduce and eventually eliminate every priority given to families and married couples who have three children or more. This measure will, of course, collide with many social attitudes but we have no other choice.

--Gradually improve the activities designed to protect the health of mothers and newborns and continue to develop upon the fine achievements and tradition of our system in this field with a view toward reducing the illnesses of women and reducing the infant mortality rate; widely disseminating the knowledge required to raise healthy, obedient children while gradually improving the cultural education of teenagers and children, beginning with the organization of education, so that teenagers and children study under circumstances in which "the school is a school, the class is a class, the teacher is a teacher, the student is a student, teaching is teaching and learning is learning," as Pham Van Dong instructed during the Conference of the Education Sector on Innovations and Experiences held in 1981.

5. It is necessary to establish a specialized organization to help the state government insure the implementation of the population line and policy from the central to the basic levels.

On a nationwide scale, the establishment of a national commission or an organization of similar authority that is responsible for formulating programs and policies regarding the population and coordinating the specialized sectors and mass organizations for the purpose of implementing these programs is necessary. In the localities, it is also necessary to establish a similar organization to help the party committee echelon and government perform this work.

As is the case in the other fields, the population line and policy of our party and state can only be implemented by relying upon the combined strength of the entire party and all the people and by taking educational, administrative and economic measures, with the measure of foremost importance being to raise the awareness, the will and the feelings of everyone in society concerning this issue.

This issue, which must be considered a pressing issue, is not only related to the immediate development of the country, but to the country's long-range development as well.

In the immediate future, we must make a choice:

--Either to allow the population to rapidly grow in a natural fashion so that, within another decade, the people, especially the young generation are living crowded together amidst deprivation, poverty and illness and become the parents of a new generation that lives under similar miserable circumstances;

--Or, in view of the fact that it is our country, the people can become the masters of increases in their population and balance the population with the capabilities that lie in their natural resources and production so that their income and material wealth can only increase and so that everyone's quality of life is constantly improved.

This choice is not a matter of ability, but a matter of desire, a matter of determination.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 15.
2. The average rate of population growth in the countries of Europe and the Soviet Union was 1 percent in 1960-1970 and 0.6 percent in 1970-1980 and is projected to be 0.6 percent in 1980-1985, 0.5 percent in 1985-1990 and 0.5 percent in 1990-2000 (statistics compiled by UNESCO presented at the 38th International Conference on Education, November, 1981 in Geneva).

The average rate of population growth in Vietnam has been: 3.45 percent in 1957; 3.4 percent in 1960; 3.1 percent in 1965; 2.5 percent in 1967; 3.05 percent in 1969; 2.8 percent in 1970; and 2.3 percent in 1980 (data of the Statistics General Department).

3. In the Soviet Union, total agricultural output has increased from an annual average of 82.8 billion rubles under the seventh 5-year plan to 123.9 billion rubles under the tenth 5-year plan, that is, has increased by 50 percent. In the countries of the European Common Market, this increase has been 31 percent while, in the United States, it has been 29 percent.

"The growth of agricultural output in the Soviet Union has regularly exceeded the growth of the population. Since 1965, the Soviet population has increased by 35 million. Average annual agricultural output per capita has increased by 28 percent. In 15 years, the consumption of meat and meat products per capita has increased by 41 percent, the consumption of milk and dairy products has increased by 25 percent, the consumption of eggs has doubled, the consumption of vegetables has increased by 35 percent, the consumption of vegetable oil has increased by 24 percent and the consumption of sugar has increased by 30 percent"(according to a report by comrade Brezhnev at the Conference on the Grain and Food Program held in Moscow on 24 May, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 26 May 82).

4. In the developed countries of Europe and the Soviet Union, the average number of students per teacher on each level of study in 1980 was as follows: level I: 19 students; level II: 15 students; level III: 13 students (according to statistical data of UNESCO, Paris, 1981).
5. The percentage of students that must repeat a grade in level I school, which is reflective of the quality of education, in a number of developed countries of Europe and in the Soviet Union is as follows: Denmark: 0; Norway: 0; Sweden: 0; Great Britain: 0; the Soviet Union: 0.4; Czechoslovakia: 0.9; Bulgaria: 1.8; Hungary: 1.9; Switzerland: 2.1; Italy: 2.2; Greece: 2.3; Poland: 2.6; and the German Federal Republic: 2.7; in Vietnam the figure is 5 to 10 percent (according to statistical data of UNESCO, Paris, 1981).

The average expenditure per student in the developed countries was 1,767 dollars in 1978, a 6.8 fold increase compared to 1960. The average expenditure per student in the underdeveloped countries was 146 dollars in 1978. Generally speaking, the average expenditure per student in the developed countries is 12 times higher than in the underdeveloped countries (according to statistical data of UNESCO, Paris, 1981).

6. The national income per capita (1980 U.S. dollars) of the various groups of countries in the world:

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1980</u>
The Developed Countries	4130	5580	10660
The Average Countries	640	820	1580
The Underdeveloped Countries with low income	170	180	250

According to data compiled by the World Bank, 1981.

## BUILDING A STRONG WORKING CLASS IN ORDER TO BUILD A STRONG PARTY

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[Article by Hai Dang]

[Text] Part I

Due to its special characteristics as the most progressive class, as a class that is highly organized and disciplined, as a thoroughly revolutionary class that represents the most progressive mode of production and as the class that is the legitimate representative of national interests and which is, at the same time, international in nature, the modern world proletariat has been and is fulfilling its world historic mission of abolishing capitalism and building socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

The Vietnamese working class embodies the common qualities of the world working class and, at the same time, embodies special characteristics, such as possessing a very high revolutionary fighting spirit as a result of being oppressed by three strata (the imperialist aggressors and the feudalists and the bourgeoisie at home); quickly maturing politically, not being divided ideologically or organizationally and accepting the influence of the Russian October Revolution; quickly establishing its own political party, quickly establishing close relations with farmers and quickly building a firm alliance of workers and farmers. With the total victory of the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation, the Vietnamese working class completed its mission of liberating the nation and is now carrying out the two strategic tasks of building socialism throughout the country and defending the fatherland while fulfilling its international obligation.

Through socialist transformation and socialist construction, our working class has gradually grown and developed in both size and quality. At present, within the state sector, there are about 3.4 million manual workers and laborers now working, including nearly 900,000 professional scientific and technical cadres and 1.3 million technical workers. During the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, more than 500,000 young manual workers received systematic training in technical schools and joined the corps of manual workers. This does not include the 1.5 million professional handicraftsmen and artisans, who embody something of the nature of the working class.

generally speaking, our working class possesses the following strengths: it is self-reliant, dynamic, intelligent, creative, capable of enduring hardships and determined to overcome every difficulty in order to complete its task. It possesses the sense of organization and discipline, upholds the tradition of revolutionary struggle and the fine qualities of the working class, always took the lead in the war of resistance for national salvation and has always taken the lead in socialist construction. In the face of the difficulties of the country, the majority of manual workers have shown themselves to be steadfast and unswerving and have displayed confidence in the leadership line of the party.

When encountering difficulties in their work or production, many manual workers have made innovations, made technological improvements and found ways to make full use of their materials and equipment for the purpose of maintaining production; when they have been able to produce, many manual workers have operated their machinery day and night in order to compensate for down time. The workers in the sectors that directly support agriculture have eagerly engaged in emulation in productive labor and competently supported agriculture. In construction, many workers have stood ready to temporarily leave their families or move their entire families in order to build key projects and new economic zones in accordance with the requirements of the revolution. Recently, with the expansion of the payment of piecework wages and contract wages, an intense atmosphere of productive labor has emerged at a number of installations.

As regards the task of defending the fatherland, imbued with the truth "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," many workers have displayed their readiness to leave their homes to defend the socialist fatherland, defend the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat state and defend the fruits of the revolution.

However, besides these basic strengths, our country's corps of manual workers also displays many shortcomings and weaknesses:

The level of education is still low. In the North, the majority of manual workers have only been in their trades for 5 to 10 years and have a level II or level III education. In the South, manual workers are relatively skilled in their trades but their command of theory is poor and their level of education is low, the majority of them having only a level I education.

The level of development of skills is still low; the average worker is a grade 2.56/7 grade worker; grade 1-2/7 workers constitute 40 percent, grade 3-4/7 workers constitute 55 percent and grade 5-6-7/7 workers constitute only 3 or 4 percent of the number of manual workers. In some sectors, there is only one grade 6 worker for every 1,000 manual workers.

The number of workers who are more than 45 years of age and have been in their trade for more than 25 years is small, about 12 percent. Young manual workers who have been in their trades for less than 10 years constitute about 60 percent. Women manual workers constitute 50 percent.



Because the majority of manual workers come from the backgrounds of farmers or poor people and have not had much contact with modern industry, their thinking and habits are still heavily influenced by their background, by small-scale production and their industrial style and discipline are poor.

The health of manual workers is, generally speaking, poor and the number who are sick, unable to work or old and frail is increasing each day. For example, at the Quang Ninh Coal Mine, thousands of workers must take off time from work each year due to poor health.

The structure of the corps of manual workers is not balanced or well coordinated. Within industry and transportation, there is a shortage of maintenance and repair workers. In construction, there is a shortage of workers for finishing work, workers for the construction of underground projects and so forth.

The class awareness, socialist awareness and the sense of socialist collective ownership and the ability to exercise this ownership are low among many workers; the respect for socialist property, the protection of socialist property and the practice of economy are poor.

The pressing situation at this time among the working class is that manual workers are encountering very many difficulties in their daily lives and hardly any of them are able to live on the wages they are paid, consequently, they are not content within their jobs, do not produce with enthusiasm and do not feel close to their enterprises, rather, many of them have been forced to do the best they can" economically and have engaged in negative phenomena. Tens of thousands of manual workers have left their enterprises and worksites to find other jobs. More than a few manual workers have engaged in dishonest activities, such as theft, conspiracy and so forth.

Manual workers have many worries and concerns: they are worried about production declining or becoming stagnant, about difficult living conditions, about the inability to maintain order and security, about their children becoming bad, about their children being subject to many bad influences and so forth. They are concerned about the unreasonable situation regarding income, a situation in which persons who earn a legitimate living are encountering difficulties while persons who are earning their livings illegally are wealthy, in which those who perform much work receive little income while those who perform little work receive much income and manual workers, the persons who directly produce material wealth for society, have very difficult living conditions. They are greatly concerned about the negative phenomena that are in society at this time.

Unwholesome phenomena have also emerged among manual workers, such as a decline in their will to struggle and their enthusiasm for work; lax labor discipline, pessimism and waivering on the part of many manual workers in the face of the difficulties of the country; and a decline in their confidence in our ability

to overcome these difficulties and change the situation. More than a few manual workers, especially young manual workers, violate socialist ethics, socialist qualities and the socialist style of life.

What are the causes of the situation presented above? It must first of all be stated that, in essence, our working class is, generally speaking, still good, is still maintaining the fundamental characteristics of the working class. Millions of manual workers are remaining at their production machines, making innovations and technological improvements, overcoming their difficulties and completing their tasks. During the past 5 years, 65 percent of the production and business installations developed their potentials and produced 15 percent more products than required in view of the quantities of raw materials and supplies provided by the state. Also during these 5 years, manual workers and civil servants made and applied more than 500,000 innovations that saved the state 1.5 billion dong. The new factors and the advanced model units that are active in many fields very clearly indicate the creative revolutionary spirit of our corps of manual workers and civil servants. These things must be stated in order to maintain and increase the confidence of the working class and constantly develop the role and the tremendous revolutionary capabilities of our country's working class.

There are many objective and subjective causes for the above mentioned concerns, worries and negative phenomena within the corps of manual workers and civil servants but the following several causes are of fundamental significance:

--Our country, a backward agricultural country, has no modern industry and small-scale production still predominates. The majority of manual workers come from the background of farmers, consequently, their thinking, style, habits and methods of working still bear the imprints of the small-scale producer. As a result, our country's working class, although it possesses the basic characteristics of the international working class, has not achieved a level of development as high as the level that has been achieved by the modern working class in the advanced industrial countries.

--The economic line of the party is correct; however, because the structure of the economy is inefficient and, in particular, because our economic organization and management are underdeveloped, because we have maintained the administrative, bureaucratic, subsidization management mechanism for too long, because we have been slow to improve the price and wage policies and because, when prices have been adjusted, we have displayed new shortcomings and created new difficulties in everyday life, manual workers and civil servants, as well as farmers, are not enthusiastic about their production or work and their labor productivity as well as their productivity in other areas of activity are low.

The planning of the economy has not been closely coordinated with the planning of society and the building of the economy has not been closely linked to the building of the working class. For a long time, we have given light attention

to training and forging the corps of manual workers; only 42 percent of manual workers have received training in schools and the quality of training is still low. Full concern has not been shown for organizing and improving the material and spiritual lives of manual workers.

--The organization and activities of the Trade Union are still much in the nature of "form for form's sake" and the teaching of politics and ideology is still superficial and one-sided and has not been closely linked to reality, especially to the burning issues being faced in life.

## Part II

Communism is the ideal of the working class led by the communist party. The historic mission of the working class is to build communism. As a result, in order to build communism, we must build a strong working class. The working class is the social base of the communist party and the communist party is the vanguard unit of the working class. Therefore, in order to build a strong communist party, we absolutely must concern ourselves with building a strong working class. Establishing the leadership role of the working class is the essential issue in the revolution in every country. The leadership of the working class through its vanguard party is not only evident in organization, but primarily in the political line of the party. This is the revolutionary line of the working class and correctly reflects the stand and viewpoints of the working class. Therefore, in order to strengthen the leadership role of the party, it is necessary to strengthen the working class. On the other hand, only under the leadership of the vanguard party can the working class complete its historic mission. Such is the relationship between the working class and the party. However, for a long time, not all of our cadres and party members have fully understood this, rather, there has been a tendency to separate the working class from the party, to only see the leading party, not see the role of the working class in leading the revolution, which has led to giving light attention to building the working class, giving light attention to the role of the Trade Union, which is the widespread mass organization of the working class.

On the basis of the above analysis, we see that building the working class is a very important matter, is the task of the party, the Trade Union, the socialist state and all cadres and party members. In order to build a strong working class, we must research and resolve numerous problems; in the years ahead, the following important jobs must be performed well:

1. The working class is a product of large-scale industry and only when industry develops can the working class grow and become strong. Therefore, the basic need in building the working class is to make every effort to develop industry and gradually carry out the central task throughout the period of transition, namely, socialist industrialization. To accomplish this, we must have a thorough understanding of the party's general line on the socialist revolution and its economic line: building a rational economic structure and

correctly coordinating industry and agriculture, the central economy and the local economy, the development of production forces and the improvement of production relations, the economy and the national defense system and so forth. On the other hand, we must improve economic management, abolish management based on administrative procedures, bureaucracy and subsidization, implement the socialist mode of business management, make economic returns the highest standard, make economic interests the important moving force and control the economy primarily by means of economic methods with a view toward insuring that each laborer, each economic organization voluntarily accelerates production, practices economy and implements the line and policies of the party well while supporting the life of the people well.

These are very important economic premises to building the corps of manual workers.

2. The most pressing, most immediate problem is to resolve the difficulties being encountered in the daily lives of manual workers. On the basis of the actual situation in the Soviet Union in 1919, Lenin said: "In a ravaged country, the first task is to rescue the laborer. The foremost production force of all mankind is the manual worker, the laborer. If they survive, we will rescue and restore all of them."<sup>(1)</sup> Although our present socio-economic situation is not entirely similar to the situation in the Soviet Union at that time, similarities do exist with regard to the wages and the living conditions of manual workers. Compared to 1960, the wages and living conditions of our manual workers at this time are similar to the wages and living conditions of the manual workers of the Soviet Union between the years 1918 to 1920 compared to 1913. For this reason, the most pressing, immediate problem is to truly care for and improve the living conditions of the working class.

In order to improve the living conditions of manual workers, it is necessary to determinedly and effectively take such measures as supplying essential goods in exact accordance with ration standards and at stable prices; widely and correctly applying the various progressive forms of wages, such as contract wages, piece wages, time wages with bonuses and so forth in order to raise the income of manual workers; implementing appropriate subsidies when adjusting prices and so forth. At the same time, we must actively prepare to carry out a basic reform of wages, the sooner, the better, in exact accordance with the principle of distribution in accordance with labor so that wages truly become the main source of support of laborers and the minimum wage insures that the energies expended in work are replenished. Only in this way is it possible to closely link manual workers and civil servants to their enterprises, agencies, worksites and so forth so that they contribute their entire spirit, will, energies and talents to the cause of building socialism and, on this basis, accelerate production, stabilize their living conditions and eventually thoroughly abolish the negative phenomena in society.

The actual situations at the Vung Tao-Con Dao Fishing Enterprise, the Thanh Tong Textile Enterprise and the coal mines in the recent past prove that this

can be done. Once there is a correct management mechanism and a correct wage policy that support the daily lives of workers, they remain at their factories and remain in their mines to produce and satisfy the interests of the state and the collective as well as their own interests.

3. One very important matter in building a strong working class is the need to steadily develop trade training within the national education system as well as at production installations so that the manual workers who are working and those persons who are about to embark on a trade are fully qualified manual workers and support production well.

It is necessary to improve the planning of trade training so that trade training plans are closely linked to the plans for the development of the economy, thereby insuring the creation of technical labor forces and raising occupational qualifications in a manner consistent with the requirements of the various sectors of the national economy, and necessary to appropriately readjust the scale of training in order to avoid situations such as the present situation in which there is a surplus of labor and labor is lacking in quality. The planning of trade training must be conducted by economic-technical sector and coordinated with planning of trade training by locality and territory with a view toward balancing training needs and capabilities by sector and within each locality (for both the central economy and the local economy). We must conduct general, well coordinated trade training for each period of time and by school year among the various educational sectors with a view toward establishing balance within the educational system and balance between the training system and the economic system.

On the basis of trade training planning, we must organize, perfect and develop to a limited degree the system of the various types of trade training schools so that this system continues from the point where the general schools stop and provides occupational counselling and trade training to the majority of general school graduates. The system of trade training schools in our country consists of various types: trade training schools that recruit students who have a basic general school education (this, the main type of school, is consistent with the present level of the popularization of education); the trade training schools that recruit graduates of the middle schools; and the trade training centers in the districts, precincts and cities that provide widespread trade training to youths and teenagers by means of many suitable forms. It is necessary to conduct a pilot project in trade training-academic training on the middle general school level. In addition, each industrial, agricultural and handicraft production installation should hold trade training classes and gain the participation of all skilled workers in the popularization of the occupation.

An important matter in improving and developing, to a suitable degree, the trade training schools is the need to invest in the construction of schools and the equipping of schools with material-technical bases, considering this to be one of the investment guidelines that have priority (investments in research and

investments in training); at the same time, attention must be given to expanding and strengthening the system of technical normal schools in the provinces and municipalities in order to train vocational instructors.

On the other hand, the contents and methods of training must be suitably reformed. As regards the contents of training, attention must be given to coordinating training in broad trades and training in narrow trades so that persons are skilled in one trade but knowledgeable in many; we must prepare reserve labor forces that encompass many grades of workers and are suited to the conditions of an economy advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. As regards training methods, it is necessary to establish good coordination between theory and practice, between training and production so that workers can begin jobs as soon as they graduate.

In conjunction with training at schools, special importance must be attached to on-the-job training, reasonably arranging hours so that workers can work and study and launching and maintaining a "skilled worker training and testing" movement in all enterprises and worksites in order to improve the skills and raise the work grade of manual workers.

4. It is necessary to strengthen the activities of the Trade Union. The Trade Union is the broadest mass organization of the working class, is the school of socialism and communism. Therefore, strengthening the activities of the Trade Union will have a direct impact upon the effort to build and develop the working class.

The Trade Union must intensify the teaching of politics and ideology and raise the socialist awareness of the working class. The Trade Union and the agencies of the state must organize study sessions to raise the political, cultural and technical qualifications of manual workers and must discover manual workers within the mass movement, in day to day production, for training as skilled management cadres. In educational activities, it is necessary to avoid such shortcomings as being too brief, being monotonous, being onesided and being passive; attention must be given to presenting bright examples among manual workers of the socialist attitude toward work, the sense of organization and discipline, the spirit of self-reliance, the spirit of making innovations and the spirit of economizing on raw materials, supplies and energy while struggling to overcome negative phenomena, especially theft and lax labor discipline among some workers.

The Trade Union must give special attention to upholding and guaranteeing the socialist collective ownership role of the working class, primarily its collective mastery of the economy, and must create favorable conditions for manual workers and civil servants to participate in the management of agencies and enterprises. Trade Union cadres must maintain a close relationship with manual workers, must meet with them on a regular basis to learn their opinions and aspirations concerning economic matters and must work with the agencies of the state to promptly study, respond to and satisfactorily act upon the matters raised by manual workers. Attention must be given to conducting economic forums and economic symposiums to create the conditions for workers to contribute their opinions concerning economic matters and expand the practice of self-criticism and criticism concerning economic management in the press and, if possible, even over the radio and television.

The Trade Union must participate more effectively in economic management and enterprise management and must join forces with the agencies of the state to resolve specific problems regarding production conditions; along with enterprises and agencies, it must accelerate the socialist emulation movement and encourage manual workers to make every effort to overcome the difficulties involving energy, raw materials and equipment and develop each potential of every enterprise and of the country in order to maintain and develop production. The emulation movement must be developed in depth by improving work methods, applying science and technology and improving management in order to raise labor productivity and achieve high returns and high quality.

Together with the agencies of the state, the Trade Union must show more concern for the material and spiritual lives of manual workers and civil servants, not only at agencies and enterprises, but also within each family and each collective housing area, with special attention given to teaching the teenage children and younger children of manual workers and civil servants and maintaining order and security so that manual workers and civil servants engage in production and perform their work with peace of mind. Worker inspections must be intensified to insure the good implementation of the policies of the party and state regarding the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants and insure the fair and efficient distribution of goods to the hands of laborers. The Trade Union organization must intervene in cases involving the violation of regulations and policies in order to support the living conditions of manual workers and civil servants and must correct the practice of policies being implemented in a way different than they are supposed to be.

In order to fulfill the tasks mentioned above, it is necessary to strengthen the Trade Union organization, especially the basic level Trade Unions, improve the methods of operation and the work style of Trade Union cadres, take determined steps to overcome the style of operation that is bureaucratic, administrative and remote from the masses and restore the party's tradition of mobilizing the masses so that all activities of the Trade Union delve deeply into the fields of production, distribution and circulation, maintain close contact with the masses and truly mobilize the masses to make practical contributions to bringing about good changes within the economy and everyday life while molding the new, socialist man.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Volume 38, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1977, p 430.

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BOOK REVIEW: LE DUAN'S "ON SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE OWNERSHIP"

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[Book Review by Pham Thanh]

[Text] Le Duan's book "On Socialist Collective Ownership," which was published by Su That Publishing House in celebration of the 5th Congress of the Party, is a collection of speeches and articles by him, in which the matter of socialist collective ownership is presented in a clear, profound, detailed and systematic fashion.

Le Duan points out that the concept of collective ownership was discussed by President Ho in the late 1950's. He always emphasizes that the theory of collective ownership is no different than the concretization of the "thinking of collective ownership set forth by the classicists." Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out that socialism is a system in which man begins to become the master of society, the master of nature and the master of himself, is a system in which the dominant factors are "community" and "collectivity" and is the highest stage of development in the evolution of mankind. The theory of our party is, at the same time, the selective application to the circumstances of our country of the experiences of the fraternal countries, especially the Soviet Union, in building socialism and communism. On the basis of the characteristic of our country, namely, the advance directly from small-scale production to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development, the socialist collective ownership viewpoint of our party states that in order to advance the revolution to total victory, "it is first of all necessary to establish and constantly strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and implement and constantly uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people"(p 14)\*, which demand that our party and our people "display a very high level of initiative, creativity and self-awareness in the process of the socialist revolution"(p 14).

In numerous speeches, Le Duan confirms and argues that collective ownership is the essence of socialism. This, the basic social relationship, is formed in an objective manner on the basis of the public ownership of the instruments of production. This system of ownership creates the conditions for the working people to be the collective masters of the labor force, of the process of producing and distributing products, that is, the collective masters of the economy.



Building the system of collective ownership involves building a complete system of social relations that increasingly reflects the mastery of the working people in all areas of politics, the economy, the culture, society, etc. "The foundation of the system of socialist collective ownership is a rational economic structure that meets the material and cultural needs of the people more fully with each passing day on the basis of constantly developing production and achieving an increasingly high level of technological development. Without this economic structure it is virtually impossible to have democracy, virtually impossible to talk about the right of collective ownership"(p 135). Politically, "the system of socialist collective ownership is most clearly seen in the collective ownership exercised by the working people (the nucleus of whom is the alliance of workers and farmers) primarily by means of the socialist state under the leadership of the vanguard party of the working class"(pp 16-17).

Exercising collective ownership politically is the first prerequisite to establishing the collective ownership of the working people in every area. For this reason, Le Duan strongly emphasizes the matter of building the collective ownership mechanism "the party leads, the working people exercise ownership and the state manages" and sets forth organizational measures designed to insure that the party leads and the state manages so that, in the end, the working people exercise ownership.

Le Duan points out that the system of collective ownership is both the objective and the moving force of the socialist revolution. He says: "The new system can only be a truly stable system when it becomes the 'natural' result of the new economy, that is, when we have established a relatively well developed system of large-scale socialist production to serve as its foundation"(p 58). With regard to the system of collective ownership as a means, he states: "In the advance from small-scale production directly to socialism under conditions in which the material-technical bases that exist are insignificant, the largest base is the strength of collective ownership. Consequently, immediately adopting collective ownership, beginning with ownership of arable land and labor, and immediately establishing the initial bases of the system of collective ownership are matters in the nature of a law in the advance to socialism in our country"(p 154).

Our party's viewpoint concerning the system of collective ownership has been graphically presented by Le Duan. He does not draw a fully detailed picture of an ideal social model, rather, he only presents guidelines that are consistent with the nature of socialist society as it has developed in the world over the past 60 years and more and is developing in our country in order to guide socialist construction within our country.

One matter that is often raised by many persons is: the system of collective ownership is truly superior. However, the social realities that we face seem not to support this theory. We say that we are exercising collective ownership but we are surrounded by countless things that indicate the opposite: instead of collective ownership, we see all around us ownership of the guild style,

private ownership, anarchy, the lack of discipline, partialism and localism; instead of ownership, we see arbitrariness, dictatorship and the violation of democratic rights on the part of more than a few cadres who hold positions of authority and the loss of democratic rights by and the suppression of persons under their leadership; instead of working in the spirit of ownership, we see work being performed for hire with all of its harmful manifestations: the theft of public property, laziness, slowdown strikes, etc. Thus, it can be asked: is the theory of collective ownership applicable in the present stage of the period of transition? Do we have a system of collective ownership at this time? If we do, how can we explain the negative phenomena that are contrary to the nature of the system of collective ownership?

By studying Le Duan's work, we find answers to these questions.

Collective ownership is an objective social relationship. It emerges in an inevitable fashion along with the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the processes of socialist transformation and socialist construction.

At present, after nearly 30 years of carrying out the socialist revolution in the North and 7 years of carrying out the socialist revolution throughout the country under the leadership of the party, we are endeavoring to establish a host of socio-economic relationships that meet the requirements of collective ownership relations. Our people, generally speaking, are the owners of the fields, the industrial enterprises, the mines, the banking system, the communications system, socialist commerce and so forth; they are the owners of the school system, the cultural installations, the hospitals and the other public welfare projects; they have, on their own, established the state apparatus and their executive agencies, etc. We have begun to establish codes, regulations and systems designed to guarantee the right of collective ownership of the working people, such as the Constitution, laws, the enterprise statutes, the cooperative statutes and a host of other legal documents as well as agreements.

However, it is clear that this system is still far from perfect. Because:

First, the objective relationships themselves are in the process of being formed and are not yet complete.

We have established the public ownership of the instruments of production within the main industrial sectors and in the majority of agriculture. However, a significant portion of agriculture (in the South) has still not been transformed along cooperative lines. A significant portion of the artisan trades and small industry still lies in the hands of private individuals. Capitalist business activities in industry and commerce still exist. An arduous, complex struggle is occurring among these economic segments in order to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life, between the system of collective ownership and the system of private ownership.

Moreover, even at places at which collective ownership relations have been established, the development of these relations is still on a very low level; meanwhile, from a scientific point of view, "the system of collective ownership must be based on the new, socialist economy. Without large-scale socialist production as its material foundation, the system of collective ownership cannot be fully implemented because, as Lenin said, the level of democracy cannot exceed the level of development of the economy"(p 157).

Secondly, we, the persons who have the historic mission of consciously building the new system, do not fully reflect the objective collective ownership relations or the present level of development of these relations and do not have a firm grasp of the laws controlling these relations, consequently, we have not developed forms of organization, codes, regulations and systems designed to fully uphold the right of collective ownership of the working people. Because, "the right of collective ownership of the working people is not restricted merely to the political rights of the citizen, rather, it must be fully codified in production, distribution, circulation and consumption, fully codified economically, politically and culturally at installations, on the local level and throughout the country"(p 170). Shortcomings in the field of law plus laxity in management are an important cause of many of the violations of the socialist system of law and have reduced the effectiveness of and, in many cases, rendered ineffective the programs and policies of the party and state. They have limited us in our effort to build an effective state apparatus and build an economic management system that is suited to the present stage in the period of transition. Le Duan points out: "The proletarian state apparatus is not merely a governing apparatus. It is also an economic management apparatus, an apparatus that manages social production on the basis of correctly applying the socialist economic laws and meeting the objective requirements of production and of the process of developing socialist production. It is on this basis that we must define the structure, scale, tasks, authority and mode of operation of the state agencies that lead the economy, such as the Ministries of Industry, Agriculture, Trade and so forth"(p 39). Of course, we cannot seek perfection because our society is still in the process of changing.

Thirdly, not only the awareness, but also the ideological consciousness of man generally lag behind the development of reality. The start of the socialist revolution means a leap forward from being a slave who works for hire or from private ownership to collective ownership. Corresponding to this leap forward, there must be a corresponding leap forward in ideological consciousness: we must struggle to eradicate the remnants of the thinking of neo-colonialism and bourgeois thinking and must transform the other types of non-proletarian thinking in order to establish the thinking of collective ownership. At present, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionaries, are waging a psychological war and opposing us ideologically along with opposing us in many other areas. Clearly, the old social system has disappeared but the poisons of the old society still remain and class and national enemies are still looking for every way to spread their poisons. As a result, the struggle on the ideological front is a very complex and long struggle. Le Duan points out that not even the working

class, which is the leading class, can avoid being poisoned by these poisons. "Exercising collective ownership is the nature and the capability of the working class, the class that represents the progressive mode of production and the new social system. However, the working class, which is a corps that has been and is continuing to develop rapidly, is also poisoned by non-proletarian thinking, the most widespread of which is in the thinking, the habits and the style of the small-scale producer"(p 140). All of these things are formidable obstacles along the road of building the system of socialist collective ownership. They can distort, strangle and even undermine the codes, organizations and regulations that have been established in a manner completely consistent with the requirements of the system of collective ownership. They cause and exacerbate arbitrariness, dictatorship, a lack of democracy, intimidation of the masses, decentralization, fragmentation, a lack of organization, anarchy and countless other ills that violate the right of ownership of the people and undermine the principles of organization and the sense of discipline of the system of collective ownership.

Establishing the system of collective ownership, therefore, involves a process of struggling to resolve the question "who defeats whom" in each field of politics, economics, ideology and the culture and this process is especially complicated, lengthy and persistent in the field of ideological consciousness.

All of the things pointed out by Le Duan show: we cannot harbor the illusion that the system of collective ownership can be perfected all at once. However, we can and must establish the system of collective ownership; and, this system cannot be a perfect system because it is in the process of being established, consequently, it must be consistent with the level that has been reached by the revolution in all fields of social life. We must also realize that the socialist revolution is in the process of a fierce struggle between our people, led by the party, and the Chinese reactionary expansionists and hegemonists collaborating with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionaries. As a result, we must constantly overcome objective limitations and subjective shortcomings and weaknesses and constantly create objective conditions and cultivate subjective capabilities and qualities in order to gradually build and constantly improve the system of socialist collective ownership.

The system of collective ownership is the combined result of the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. However, the system of socialist collective ownership is not born, is not gradually strengthened and perfected automatically, rather, it is born, is gradually strengthened and perfected throughout the consciously organized activities of the working people under the leadership of the party.

Above everything else, these activities are organized activities designed to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions in order to transform and build all of society, from the economic base to the superstructure, in accordance with the principles of socialism, that is, in accordance with the principles of collectivism.

Le Duan places special emphasis upon organizational work within the economic field. Because, this is very difficult work that is new to us and the successful performance of this work will create the material conditions needed to uphold the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and lay a firm foundation for the system of collective ownership.

He discusses at great length the building of the industrial-agricultural structure, the use of the district as the base for coordinating agriculture with industry from the very outset, the establishment of the relationships between the central economy and the local economy, the organizing of the basic economic units and the building of the economic management apparatus and system with forms of organization, codes, systems, policies and mechanisms that are consistent with our present level of development.

In organizational work, Le Duan attaches foremost importance to establishing the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." He delves deeply into clarifying the leadership role and responsibility of the party, the relationship between the party and the state and the mode of work and work procedures of the agencies of the party with a view toward strengthening the leadership of the party in order to uphold the right of ownership of the people. He especially emphasizes the management role of the state, thoroughly analyzes the management function of the state and sets forth guidelines and measures for improving the management activities of the state in order to insure that the state provides management so that the people can exercise ownership.

Le Duan states that, from a subjective point of view, our shortcomings and weaknesses in organizational work are the main reasons for our failure to build the system of socialist collective ownership in the manner desired by us.

In order to overcome these shortcomings and weaknesses, we must delve deeply into research in order to gain a thorough understanding of the objective laws of our country's society, especially the socialist economic laws that apply in the present stage of the period of transition. Le Duan reminds us to not only have an understanding of social laws, but also have a full and deep understanding of the natural sciences and the technical sciences. These sciences are the knowledge accumulated by man in the process of struggling to liberate himself. Only by learning these sciences is it possible to talk about being a master (see pages 31 and 32).

We cannot establish the system of collective ownership in a general, abstract manner, rather, we must establish it in a concrete manner in Vietnam. Therefore, we must have a firm grasp of the realities of Vietnam. Having a firm grasp of the social situation in Vietnam means knowing the economic, political, cultural, social, historical and traditional characteristics of the nation, knowing the climate, the weather, the land, the natural resources and the potentials in the production forces of the country. This is taking the initiative and, at the same time, is the prerequisite to exercising ownership.

On the basis of understanding laws and understanding the actual situation, we must set forth correct tasks, programs and policies that reflect the interests of socialism, that is, that harmoniously combine the three interests, the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of the individual laborer, in a manner consistent with their objective unity while mobilizing the masses to engage in revolutionary activities as true masters.

The working people exercise ownership in order to satisfy their interests, in both the broad meaning and the narrow meaning of the term; and, as Le Duan says: "In the system of collective ownership, the interests of society, the interests of the collective and the interests of each laborer are identical. The fact that these three interests are identical, which is a basic characteristic of the system of socialist collective ownership, is a very important moving force behind the building of the new society, the development of the economy and the acceleration of production"(p156).

In addition, "we must know how to organize implementation, that is, must know how to create the means to implement policies and lines"(p 34).

We must develop suitable forms of organization with suitable activity mechanisms for each field of activity with a view toward gaining the participation of the masses in revolutionary activities and creating widespread, intense and continuous revolutionary movements. "In the end, every laborer must possess high revolutionary zeal as this is the only way that mastery can be exercised"(p 35). The process of cultivating revolutionary zeal is the process of showing the masses the correctness of the lines, tasks, positions and policies of the party and state and clearly showing the masses that their interests lie in these lines, tasks, positions and policies, as a result of which they implement them in a confident, enthusiastic and conscious manner with high revolutionary zeal.

In order to achieve this, it is first of all necessary for cadres and party members, who are the persons responsible for leading the masses, to be the most progressive and aware elements, to possess the strongest sense of organization and discipline, to have a full understanding of the lines, tasks and policies of the party, to be determined to lead, educate, persuade and mobilize the masses to engage in revolutionary actions along with them and to set an example of revolutionary zeal.

Through the fundamental matters presented above, the book "On Socialist Collective Ownership" provides us with a systematic understanding of the system of collective ownership, which is a contribution by our party to the theory of scientific communism, and presents clear guidelines to us for gradually building the system of socialist collective ownership in a manner consistent with the level of development during each stage of the socialist revolution. The book "On Socialist Collective Ownership" also helps us to gain a more thorough understanding of the basic matters in the resolutions of the 5th Party Congress.

#### FOOTNOTES

- \* The passages followed by numbers within parentheses are excerpts from the work "On Socialist Collective Ownership" by Le Duan, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981.

## ONLY BY KNOWING HOW TO STUDY ON ONE'S OWN IS IT POSSIBLE TO LEARN SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 56-58

[Article by Professor Dao Van Tien]

[Text] In the present age, with knowledge increasing at a geometrical rate compared to time, studying on one's own has, of course, increasingly become necessary to everyone in every age group. In the past, we could rely upon the knowledge acquired at school to last us for 15 to 20 years. Now, however, one-half of this knowledge becomes outmoded in only 5 years. The sentence spoken by Lenin at the start of the century was truly one of genius: "Study, study some more, never stop studying!" Everyone realizes that studying on one's own is necessary but many persons are not able to do this well.

### The Shortcomings in Studying on One's Own

At present, the shortcomings in the methods employed to study on one's own are evident in many areas.

The lack of systematic study is rather widespread. Some persons only study those subjects that they like. (This generally applies to today's youth). There is a tendency to only like the natural sciences while giving light attention to the humanities, such as history, geography and so forth. The importance of history, especially ancient history, to the activities of man has been proven. Youths who do not know the activities of their forefathers will not be armed with the knowledge needed to deal with situations which occurred in the past when they occur again. Geography is also a subject that is usually given light attention and is known as a beginners course for everyone who wants to know about their country, about the people of their country and the world.

In the natural sciences, there is the argument that one should study only what one wants to learn, consequently, a person should only concern himself with the practical knowledge contained within the entire system of knowledge of the science. For example, some persons are satisfied with the knowledge that they have of the science of livestock production and the science of crop production

because they consider this knowledge to be closely linked to agricultural production; however, they consider knowledge of biology to be of secondary importance because they do not understand that ever since biology became a science, it has been the firm base of agricultural science.

If we give light attention to the universal knowledge found within the natural sciences and the humanities and really only attach importance to occupational knowledge, we will obviously be able to perform specific, immediate jobs but because we do not have a grasp of the fundamentals of science and do not possess broad knowledge, we will not be able to understand or deal with the diverse situations that occur in life.

More than a few students study in a shallow manner by relying only upon a few books and not examining related materials; there are even many students who do not read textbooks but only rely upon notes taken during class. The lessons taught by teachers cannot encompass all the knowledge that is in a program. A textbook only provides the minimum amount of knowledge needed for the program. In order to fully learn even this minimum knowledge, not to mention participate in a research project of significance, it is necessary to read many other supplementary materials.

There are also some persons who select certain lessons to study so that they can pass a test without understanding that the entire program of study is a system of related knowledge, that one chapter supplements another, that one concept leads to another. "Cramming" does not equip the student with systematic knowledge of the subject.

As regards the cadres of the party and state, it is common practice for them to study without a plan. They read materials in a haphazard fashion, in no particular order whatsoever. Sometimes, cadres will read for an entire day and then not reopen their books for weeks. Before they finish reading a book, they begin to read another one. They do not read each piece of material contained within a book. Some teaching material is used year after year. This haphazard method of study does not provide the student with systematic knowledge, consequently, knowledge is very quickly forgotten and does not help the student to think. Both energy and time are wasted.

Also rather widespread is the practice of studying in a passive manner lacking discussion. These persons accept without thinking the knowledge presented in books or in the lessons of teachers and are ready to repeat it verbatim to others like a parrot. There are even persons who are unwilling to memorize things that they do not understand or do not clearly understand. There are also more than a few persons who blindly believe in the concepts presented by "sages."

In the past, many of the faithful considered the bible to be truth, especially if the church had true power over them. The bible states: "The earth stands still and the sun revolves around it," and "God created the first persons, Adam and Eve." It was not until Copernicus and Galileo raised the question "what



if the earth revolves around the sun" and not until Darwin made the statement that "man is a species and, as such, had to be created by another species" and countless intellectuals labored for generation after generation in these directions that mankind discovered the laws of the universe and the law of the evolution of the species.

The knowledge of man is becoming increasingly broad, increasingly rich and increasingly precise. The history of science has clearly proven this. Given the present rate of development of the scientific and technological revolution, every textbook will have to be rewritten in 5 years and, also in 5 years, every teacher will have to supplement his or her knowledge.

All of the above mentioned non-scientific methods of studying on one's own result in knowledge that is not well learned and, more importantly fail to cultivate within the student a deductive, creative mind, which is an important component of intelligence.

#### One Must Practice Speed Reading

Many scientists recognize the modern era as the era of speed. Industrial life forces everyone to increase his speed in production, daily life and even in one's studies. Time is limited by the material and spiritual requirements of man are increasingly high.

Of the various forms of information, reading at a relatively high speed, roughly 250 words per minute, is second only to thinking, the speed of which is 500 words per minute.

However, compared to the rate of development of the present scientific and technological revolution, for a person who has an average level of education, reading at a speed of 250 words per minute is no longer suitable. Such a person must practice so that he can increase his speed of reading two to three times in order to keep abreast of current development within his profession. At present, a speed reading academy has been established in the GDR. After 6 weeks of training, a student can read at a speed of at least 500 words per minute.

Here, allow me to present one method of reading materials that enables the reader to grasp the main concepts presented within them when he or she does not have much time for reading. First, read the introduction in order to learn the objectives and requirements of the author and the main subject of the material. When this has been completed, peruse the conclusion or the summary, that is, the part that concretizes the requirements of the subject. Then, peruse the table of contents, mark the most important chapters and read these chapters carefully. Next, glance through the other chapters, if there is time.

## An Effort Must Be Made To Think

The scholar Einstein said the following about the importance of thinking when studying on one's own: reading too much and making little effort to think leads to intellectual laziness.

Reading is an indispensable activity to someone who is studying on his own. However, there are many ways to read materials. Reading without grasping the content of the material being read is the "worst method." Reading the material but only learning the contents of the material is the "average method." And, reading the material but broadening one's knowledge beyond the contents of the material, this is the "best method."

Reading scientific material is not the same as reading a novel; when reading a novel, one can use the "worst method." This method is only suited to reading for recreational purposes; however, when reading research material, one must at least use the "average method."

One educator has introduced the following method of reading to grasp the content of prose and, if desired, of research materials as well:

Read a short passage first; read it slowly and, while reading, visualize the ideas being presented within the book without paying attention to the prose. Once the passage has been read, explain it to an imaginary listener in such a way that it will be understood. Take about 15 minutes to do this. If you want to study the prose as well, read the chapter again, this time paying attention to the prose. Once this has been completed, close the book and observe the images called forth within your mind. Rewrite the passage and correct any mistakes in dictation or grammar. Do this about 10 times until you are able to write the passage almost the same way the author did.

The "average method" is a minimum requirement of a person who is studying on his own. In order to make rapid progress, the student must improve himself to the point where he can use the "best method." To accomplish this, once he has grasped the main ideas of the material, he must ask himself many questions: how did they reach these ideas? What is the relationship between these ideas and other ideas? Why do they think this but not that? To answer these questions, one must find additional reference material to read, exchange opinions and engage in debate in order to acquire additional knowledge and satisfy one's need to learn. And, this was also the method of reading employed by Marx and Lenin.

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## FIGHTING THE ENEMY'S WAR OF ECONOMIC SABOTAGE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 59-64

[Article by Thien Nhan]

[Text] In the multi-faceted war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in close collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, the war of economic sabotage occupies an especially important position and plays an especially important role. To us, whereas the enemy's multi-faceted war of sabotage, in general, is a new style war that we must fully understand, the enemy's war of economic sabotage, in particular, requires even more thorough study. This article presents some thoughts concerning this matter.

When examining the enemy's war of economic sabotage, we must place it within the entire multi-faceted war of sabotage, within the global counter-revolutionary strategy and the basic, long-range scheme of the enemy; at the same time, it must be placed within the framework of the world economic situation, especially the socio-economic circumstances of our country at this time. On this basis, we can clearly see the specifics involved in and the nature of this war.

On a worldwide scale, the enemy considers the war of economic sabotage to be a spearhead in the implementation of their counter-revolutionary strategy against the socialist countries. This is because the economic factor is the deciding factor in the struggle to resolve the question "who defeats whom" which exists between socialism and capitalism, between the socialist way of life and the capitalist way of life. If the socialist countries cannot develop their economies and cannot improve the standard of living of their people, they cannot uphold the superior nature of the socialist system. In the present age, the economy is always a burning issue, is a moving force in the arduous, complex struggle between the socialist system and the capitalist system. The capitalist system is becoming mired in a serious, pervasive economic crisis. Together with waging "hot wars" in a number of regions and frantically preparing for a "hot war" on a worldwide scale, the imperialists and the reactionaries are, in actuality, waging a "cold war" by means of economic, political, psychological and ideological sabotage and by means of sabotaging lifestyles with a view toward carrying out their scheme to cause disorder, foment rebellion and create subversion from within in the socialist countries and the democratic

nationalist countries. The war of economic sabotage is considered an effective stimulant of overt and covert opposition because it attacks the most essential needs of man in his daily life, competently supports political, ideological and cultural sabotage and leads to confusion, chaos, a comprehensive decline and a total collapse within these countries.

In our country, the enemy's war of economic sabotage is being carried out in a very intense and insidious manner. This is a true war, one that involves real forces, objectives, tricks and objectives, not merely ordinary acts of sabotage. Closely linked to the other types of sabotage, the war of economic sabotage is an important part of the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy. Why is this? Because, the purpose of the enemy's sabotaging our economy is to attack us in the field in which we are encountering the most difficulties. Having recently experienced a war of liberation that lasted more than 30 years, our country must bear the serious consequences of this war in all areas, especially in the economy. These consequences, together with the poverty and backwardness of our country's economy which is advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production plus our inexperience, have caused tremendous difficulties. In attacking our economy, the enemy is making a vain attempt to impede the inevitable advance by our country following total liberation, namely, the advance by the entire country to socialism. In this way, they are also attacking the most ardent aspiration of our people following many years of arduous fighting filled with sacrifices, namely, their desire for peace and stability so that they can build lives of comfort and happiness within a socialist society. By sabotaging our economy, the enemy is also trying to weaken our national defense.

As a result, it can be said that the war of economic sabotage is the most dangerous aspect of the enemy's strategy of waging a multi-faceted war of sabotage against our country.

By sabotaging our economy, the enemy is trying to make sure that we do not have the strength to overcome the acute difficulties we face at this time, that we do not have favorable conditions for building socialism and defending the fatherland, that our economy cannot be restored and developed, that the living conditions of our people will be unstable, that dissatisfaction will grow, confidence will decline and they will be able to easily carry out their schemes to commit aggression against and annex our country. Together with the other types of sabotage, they hope to occupy our country without having to wage a major war, hope to carry out their plan to "win victory without fighting." When talking about the economic sabotage and chaos in Russia during the first years after the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out: "Sabotage, it is a scheme to restore the old paradise of the exploiters and the old hell of the laboring people." The saboteurs "maintain the state of economic chaos and, at the same time, blame this situation on us."<sup>(1)</sup> Therefore, the ultimate objective of the war of economic sabotage is to carry out the counter-revolutionary political scheme. The realities of the recent past have proven that China, the United States and the other reactionaries have increasingly collaborated with one another and discussed ways to sabotage us economically. China and the

United States adopted plans to sabotage us before 1975. Following the defeat of the war of aggression in February, 1979, the Chinese reactionaries again discussed with Vietnamese traitors and their lackeys the waging of "a war from many directions" to strongly attack our "mind and stomach." In recent years, China, the United States, Japan, Thailand and other countries have taken steps to establish an economic embargo against our country. More recently, the Chinese reactionaries have expanded their relations and increased their trade with many countries in order to achieve what they call the "thorough isolation" of Vietnam economically.

The enemy's war of economic sabotage is also being carried out in many areas. They are undermining our economic line. They are sowing skepticism in a vain attempt to cause our people to not believe that our economic line is correct and can be implemented. They are distorting and undermining our programs and policies concerning socialist transformation, socialist construction and the relationship between self-reliance and international economic cooperation. They are frantically establishing embargoes against us, undermining us in the area of our foreign economic relations, prohibiting or pressuring private individuals and corporations of the capitalist countries to not sign contracts with us or to cancel, postpone, or reduce to the minimum level economic contracts that they have signed with us while establishing many complicated conditions in the economic relations between themselves and us. They have spread arguments distorting the leadership role of our party in the economic field. They have attached very much importance to sabotaging material-technical bases and socialist property, especially warehouses, seaports, large industrial installations that have modern technical equipment and valuable, scarce technical materials, scientific and technical research and application facilities within the important industrial sectors, installations that research, apply, propagate and produce seed within agriculture, vital communications-transportation installations, water conservancy projects and supplies, raw materials and goods that are of strategic importance and that meet the most pressing needs of everyday life. They have intensified their effort to sabotage production, circulation, distribution, prices, and the currency, especially the policies regarding prices, the currency, the market, agricultural production and consumer goods production. They have organized many gangs of smugglers, including international smugglers and smugglers of foreign currency and contraband that take our gold and precious gems to foreign countries and bring luxury goods into our country. They have used dishonest merchants to organize speculation in strategic products, in raw materials that are a matter of survival to the national economy and in essential goods and have organized the printing, storage and circulation of counterfeit money, thereby causing the value of our currency to fall and monopolizing the market. Along the northern border, Chinese reactionaries have established many industrial goods stores and many markets to sell, trade and buy such items as anise roots, corn silk, buffalo hoofs and so forth from compatriots of our country's ethnic minorities with a view toward sabotaging production. They use goods to buy and win over our people, organize illegal trade and use trade to insert spies and intelligence agents within our country to collect intelligence information and organize acts of sabotage. There have been some phenomena that

prove that they have even used chemical poisons, insects and micro-organisms to undermine our production and harm people of ours.

The enemy has also taken positive steps to use the spy war and the psychological-ideological war to intensify the war of economic sabotage. Today, very much attention is being given to using the spy war and the psychological-ideological war of the enemy to support economic sabotage. After collecting economic intelligence information and stealing economic secrets, the enemy formulates a specific plan for conducting sabotage. They look for ways to deeply penetrate our economic agencies, organize internal spy networks and buy our scientific-technical cadres and foreign trade cadres, especially young cadres who show prospects, so that they serve as their lackeys and sell economic secrets to them. Spies and intelligence agents have participated in guiding economic sabotage operations or personally conducted acts of economic sabotage. The psychological-ideological war has also been carried out in an intense manner in order to create panic, concern and dissatisfaction with regard to economic life, encourage illegitimate ways of earning a living, encourage actions that disrupt the market, destabilize prices and disrupt production, sow the thinking of taking it easy, of being too lazy to work, "living the fast life," only wanting to enjoy oneself and consume wastefully and sow the lack of organization and the lack of discipline. Deserving of attention is that by means of the material wealth that they have thrown about, the enemy has sabotaged us internally, has won over and corrupted some of our cadres and party members and, in particular, has led some of our youths into the material lifestyle of the West and has persuaded a number of persons to flee to foreign countries. The enemy has even used military warfare to competently support the war of economic sabotage. In the border areas, along the seacoast and on the islands, they have conducted armed attacks and intrusions against and plundered economic installations of ours, thereby harming and causing a lack of stability in the production, construction and daily lives of our people.

They have resorted to every insidious trick in order to attack us, from overt, brazen tricks to covert, sophisticated and clever tricks. They have conducted individual phases and campaigns of sabotage aimed at strategically important places and times of political importance. They have sabotaged us from the outside, from within, within each locality and throughout the country. By means of information media, propaganda, psychological warfare goods, gifts, letters, conferences, meetings, acquaintanceships and friendships, they have distorted the situation and the line and policies of our party and state. They have encouraged and provoked opposition thinking among our cadres and our people. They have looked for every way to take advantage of our difficulties, loopholes, inexperience and shortcomings, especially in the organization and management of the economy and with regard to the negative phenomena in our society and cadres and personnel who have degenerated or become deviant. They have conspired with counter-revolutionary elements, made every effort to use adventurers, hoodlums and criminals and use persons who earn their livings illegally, who are the new exploiters, to increase the forces opposing us. This is also a law in the collaboration between foreign enemies and reactionaries at home in the struggle between ourselves and the enemy.

Thus, it is clear that this is an arduous, decisive and very complex class struggle. This struggle is not only taking place in the economic field, even though the battlefield is the economy, but it is also closely related to the fields of politics, ideology, culture and the society. Because, our enemy is always acting under the guideline "the worse we make their economy, the better. This, their people will rapidly become disappointed and will turn their backs on the revolution." The experiences of Russia following the October Revolution, of Poland and a number of other countries show how insane economic sabotage becomes when enemies collaborate with one another and how dangerous are the political schemes that lie behind these acts of sabotage. The main organizers of counter-revolutionary economic activities in the present age are the U.S. monopolistic capitalists and the international reactionaries. The state monopolistic capitalists and the bourgeois parties and political organizations play the shock role. The counter-revolutionaries and the decadent elements within each country are the forces that directly participate in this sabotage. The complexity of this struggle lies in the fact that there are no clear battle lines and by the fact that the enemy's sabotage ranges from small scale to large and takes advantage of every difficulty, loophole, lack of experience and negative force in our society at this time; this struggle is further complicated by the fact that the enemy employs numerous sophisticated and clever tricks to confuse themselves and us in acts of sabotage in order to avoid punishment by us and be able to continue their activities.

In this war, we are not fighting one enemy, but several enemies, primarily the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and the U.S. imperialists, and are not merely fighting economic sabotage, but fighting sabotage in other areas as well. It can be said that never before have we had to fight such a complex war against economic sabotage. Winning victory over this war is of extreme importance if we are to totally defeat the multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy and make a large contribution to performing the two strategic tasks at this time, successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland. Therefore, this is a pressing, weighty and difficult task of our entire party and all our people. However, not all of us clearly understand this war of sabotage, especially the schemes and tricks of the enemy. Consequently, in order to win victory in this way, it is of utmost importance that we deepen everyone's understanding of the multi-faceted war of sabotage, in general, and the war of economic sabotage, in particular, of the enemy. On this basis, we must heighten our vigilance against and deepen our hatred of the enemy's sabotage. Today, we deeply hate not only their acts of aggression, but also each of their acts of sabotage. Because, the things that they are sabotaging are things for which we had to shed our sweat and blood to acquire; these acts of sabotage are preparations for acts of aggression by them. Utilizing many practical, graphic forms, such as writing newspaper articles, making speeches, using radio and television broadcasts, organizing exhibits and so forth in order to deepen the understanding and heighten the vigilance on the part of each citizen regarding the war of sabotage of the enemy is a very necessary measure in the political and ideological educational work of our party and state at this time.

In addition to understanding the war of economic sabotage and being vigilant, it is also necessary to organize the effort to prevent sabotage well. Because,

this is the best method of fighting sabotage. Therefore, in order to meet the new requirements of the present struggle, the matter of security at economic, scientific and technical installations and agencies, material-technical bases and so forth must be re-examined in a comprehensive manner on the basis of correct understandings and in a manner consistent with the present situation and must be embodied within specific, practical plans. Many security organizations must be reorganized to insure that the persons performing security work are pure, loyal and determined; it is necessary for the security organization and each person in security work to thoroughly fulfill their duties and task and immediately put an end to the problem of security personnel who are also thieves or who directly support saboteurs. The enemy is always looking for ways to attack us from within; therefore, the internal security of each unit and installation is extremely important. The commanders and leadership committees of agencies, enterprises and so forth should concern themselves with examining internal security, promptly expose loopholes and shortcomings, praise and reward good actions and scrupulously implement the personal responsibility system.

In the present situation, launching and building a mass movement to maintain security and fight the sabotage of the enemy, especially economic sabotage, are a pressing demand. In addition to heightening the socialist awareness of the masses through education, we must orient the security movement of the masses toward new requirements and must employ forms of organization that are suitable and effective. Now, maintaining security is not only a requirement in the political field, but in the economic, cultural, ideological and social fields as well. Security has never been as closely linked to national defense as it is now. The tricks, objects and objectives of the enemy's activities are somewhat different than previously. The circumstances and attitudes of the masses are not the same as they once were. The masses must have certain conditions so that they can actively participate in the maintenance of security. An attitude on the part of responsible state agencies of resolutely supporting and protecting persons who take positive, brave actions, appropriately rewarding and promptly, strongly presenting examples of good security work, appropriately punishing elements that engage in sabotage and taking harsh disciplinary action against mistakes and shortcomings in security work are factors that will truly stimulate the mass security movement. Only on the basis of reviewing the security movement in the recent past and researching the requirements, specifics and forms of this movement in the new stage is it possible to lay a scientific foundation for advancing the movement.

The agencies of the government, especially the public security sector and the army, must closely coordinate with one another under a common plan so that they successfully fulfill their role as the forces that are directly engaged in combat, as the nucleus in the struggle against the enemy's sabotage while serving as the competent command staff of the various levels of the party and government and proposing effective plans to prevent and struggle against sabotage. The public security and specialized security forces must delve deeply into the science and specialized profession of protecting the economy, correctly and promptly determine the causes of acts of economic sabotage, harshly



punish economic criminals and eradicate spies. At the same time, together with related agencies, they must defeat the spy war and the psychological-ideological war of the enemy, which will also make an important contribution to fighting their war of economic sabotage.

Another positive and basic measure is for us to make every effort to accelerate production, practice strict economy and maintain the stability of and improve the standard of living of the people. Production is always closely linked to protecting production. Every production job requires security. This security is part of the production process itself. Of decisive significance is the need for the various levels of the party and government to concern themselves with providing close leadership and guidance. This leadership and guidance are primarily manifested in assessing the situation, setting forth guidelines for the struggle, providing correct and timely security, organizing specialized forces and mass security forces that truly meet the requirements of the struggle and creating favorable spiritual and material conditions for them to operate well.

With their several decade tradition of arduous struggle and self-reliance, under the light of the resolutions of the 5th Congress of the Party and with their new strength, our people have the necessary conditions and surely will win victory over the enemy's war of economic sabotage. Our entire party, all our people and our entire army, making the greatest possible efforts, are determined to win victory over the war of economic sabotage as well as the entire multi-faceted war of sabotage of the enemy while insuring that our country is always ready and strong enough to win victory over the enemy in any situation.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Complete Works," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1978, Volume 35, pp 373 and 374.

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## SOME MATTERS CONCERNING CHINESE MILITARY STRATEGY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 8, Aug 82 pp 65-70

[Article by Nhuan Vu]

[Text] The political line of China at this time has been defined by Deng Xiaoping as follows: "In the 1980's, we must perform the following three primary jobs: first, we must oppose hegemonism in the world...; secondly, we must return Taiwan to China...; thirdly, we must accelerate the economy, that is, must carry out the four modernizations"(Xin Hua News Agency, 16 January 1980).

Facts have proven that Beijing has erected the billboard of "opposing hegemonism" in order to implement its own line on big country expansionism and hegemony. Beijing is carrying out the "four modernizations," the center of which is "military modernization," in order to create the material and technical base for implementing this line. According to this line, Beijing stands ready to yield to the "two China" policy of the Reagan administration, strengthen its collaboration with the United States and the other imperialists and the reactionaries of the world and resign itself to being the "junior ally" of the U.S. imperialists.

It is on the basis of this counter-revolutionary political line that the reactionary powers within Beijing ruling circles have formulated the military strategy of China. Of utmost importance in military strategy is to define the object of war. In 1979, the Chinese Minister of National Defense said: "The objective of the four modernizations program is to make China a power that not only stands firmly in the East, but which also becomes a large force opposing hegemonism and protecting peace in the world... We have long borders with large and small hegemonists, have a vast air space and territorial sea, have diverse geographic and climatic conditions and have different combat tasks in the different regions of our country. Therefore, we must research and produce types of weapons and equipment that are suited to warfare under every circumstance"(HONG KY Journal, October, 1979).

In their attempt to achieve their ambition of becoming ruler of the world, the Beijing ruling circles fully realize that two major obstacles stand in their

way: the Soviet Union, the pillar of revolutionary forces and of peace in the world, which is thwarting their schemes to foment "rebellion" and Vietnam, which is the country that is directly preventing their expansion to the South, primarily into the Indochina peninsula and Southeast Asia. For thousands of years, the southern route has been considered by Chinese expansionists and hegemonists to be the most favorable, to be the first step up the ladder to becoming the "ruler of the world." For this reason, in 1979, the Chinese Minister of National Defense brazenly stated that the objects of a war by China are the "big hegemonist" and the "little hegemonist," which are terms that were fabricated by Beijing to indicate the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Having defined its targets in this manner, Beijing has directed the spearhead of China's war machine and every other activity toward its two targets: the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Beijing has made no mention whatsoever, either direct or indirect, of U.S. imperialism or Japanese militarism. To the contrary, Beijing has proclaimed itself to be a member of "NATO in the East," by which they mean that they consider the United States and Japan to be their military allies, as a result of which they have worked hard to build the Washington-Tokyo-Beijing axis.

Here, it is necessary to review a number of historic events in the Chinese revolution that are related to the matter of defining the targets of a war. During the first and second civil wars against Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese Communist Party considered the Chiang Kai-shek regime to be its target of war. In the war of resistance against Japan, the target of war was defined as the Japanese imperialists. After the People's Republic of China was born, the targets of war became the U.S. imperialists and Taiwan.

However, beginning in 1957, Mao Zedong and his followers became increasingly fickle. Expansionism and hegemony increasingly controlled the political line of Beijing. The Chinese Communist Party was sabotaged by Mao and his followers. A turning point occurred when Mao carried out the "cultural revolution" and openly courted the United States (we say "openly" because, in fact, history has shown that since the Dien An period, Mao secretly wanted to join hands with the United States but was unsuccessful) while considering the Soviet Union to be his enemy; thereafter, all verbal attacks against the United States ceased and Mao publicly declared the Soviet Union to be the number one enemy of China. Beijing gradually shifted to increasingly close collaboration with the United States. Their depravity reached the point where they even betrayed their former friends and officially declared that their targets of war are the Soviet Union and Vietnam. They openly appealed for the formation of a "common opposition structure," that is, appealed for the transfiguration of the "broad united international front" in order to oppose the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Through this extremely reactionary policy, the followers of Mao dropped all pretenses and revealed their true nature as the greatest traitors, the most dangerous counter-revolutionaries.

As regards Southeast Asia, Beijing considers Vietnam to be its main target of war. They have collaborated with the United States in comprehensive hostile actions against Vietnam and in the waging of a multi-faceted war of sabotage through which they hope to eventually topple and annex Vietnam.

On the basis of defining its targets of war, Beijing established its immediate and long-range military tasks. At the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (April 1969), that is, after Mao disposed of Luu Thieu Ky, destroyed the Chinese Communist Party and assumed the position of absolute leader, Beijing defined its number one military task as: "Opposing imperialism, opposing revisionism and international reactionaries and preparing to wage a full-scale war." In this way, China was preparing for a war against both the Soviet Union and the United States. In essence, however, the Maoists were primarily preparing for a war against the Soviet Union because Mao had already openly extended a hand to the United States and was only waiting for the United States to respond. In actuality, from 1969 to 1977 (the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party), Beijing collaborated ever more closely with the United States, with the international reactionary powers, and directed its spearhead toward the Soviet Union. Since the Deng Xiaoping faction rose to power in the Zhongnanhai Palace, Beijing has increasingly asserted that its number one military task is to prepare for a world war conducted by means of conventional weapons and nuclear weapons against the Soviet Union.

The second military task that Beijing has established for itself is broad in scope and long-range. They consider themselves to be the great rear area of international reactionary forces conducted armed activities in many regions of the world.

Beijing has openly provided military aid to many fascist governments, such as the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, Mobutu in Zaire and so forth. Together with the United States, Beijing has provided Pakistan with military assistance and trained and armed Afghanistan reactionaries so that they can return to Afghanistan and oppose the Afghanistan revolution. By assisting a number of forces that are engaged in armed activities in a number of countries in Southeast Asia, they are scheming to turn these forces into their own "trojan horses" while using these forces as items for bargaining with concerned countries.

Beijing is building a "special forces" belt all along the mountainous jungles to the south of China, from Afghanistan to Vietnam. They have established "special forces" training centers and sent "special forces" to operate in many countries that share a border with China. These centers are located in the two provinces of Van Nam and Quang Tay.

The third military task that has been established has the purpose of fulfilling the domestic function of the Chinese army. On the occasion of the 30th National Day, a leader of China stated that this domestic function is: "Together with the militia, the People's Liberation Army of China must actively participate in and protect the four modernizations program." At the All-Army Conference on Political Work, Ho Dieu Bang declared: "The army is the firm pillar of the new China and the army must take the lead in implementing the line of the party" (Xin Hua News Agency, 1 February 1981).

The Beijing ruling circles have also established for the Chinese army the tasks of maintaining order and security at home and building the economy. They call

the Chinese army a "combat-work-production army." In essence, they have used the army as a tool of dictatorship to suppress the opponents of the Maoists, suppress the Chinese people and support their schemes for acquiring power in Zhongnanhai Palace.

On the basis of the tasks that have been established, Beijing has centered its efforts on building the regular-force military corps, especially the technical branches.

In 1979, the Chinese Minister of National Defense wrote: "As regards weapons, we must primarily develop conventional weapons while continuing to develop nuclear weapons and vanguard weapons. We must develop nuclear weapons in order to break the monopolization of nuclear weapons and in order to use them for defensive purposes, not in the hope of winning victory by means of nuclear weapons... To begin with, we must, by relying upon the existing base and on the basis of the need to constantly be combat ready, intensify the improvement and enhancement of the combat functions of existing weapons. At the same time,... an effort must be made to improve the equipment of our army in a short period and gradually reach the level of advanced development of the world"(HONG KY Journal, October 1979).

Within the Chinese armed forces at this time, the regular army is the main force. The ground forces continue to be the most important service. The nucleus of the ground forces is still the infantry corps. Beijing is making every effort to "modernize" the Chinese field armies by gradually improving their equipment and weapons and, in particular, by equipping Chinese ground forces with a number of modern weapons, such as combat helicopters, tanks, artillery, anti-tank missiles and so forth. At the same time, Beijing has shown special concern for building the local army and the militia.

In the guidelines for the buildup of the armed forces, because this buildup originates in expansionism and hegemony, Beijing has disregarded the country's difficult economic situation and urgently intensified the buildup of modern weapons with a view toward waging wars of aggression. However, due to economic and financial limitations, due to the low level of science and technology in and outside the army and due to continuing internal chaos, Beijing is encountering major difficulties in modernizing and building its armed forces.

Beijing has decided that every effort must be focused on implementing the four modernizations program in the 1980's and the 1990's. However, in mid-1981, Beijing had to admit that the reorganization of the Chinese national economy will take a long time and that they will have only completed the first stage of the four modernizations program by the end of this century. The buildup of nuclear forces, especially strategic nuclear forces, must be carried out on the basis of a developed modern industry and advanced science and technology and requires very large expenditures. Examined from this point of view, China's capabilities are very limited. However, because Beijing has made military modernization a very important goal, they continue to make every effort to produce a number of intercontinental missiles and atomic powered submarines armed

with strategic missiles while continuing to manufacture a number of tactical nuclear weapons and even copying the U.S. nitron bomb.

However, there is still a very wide gap between their ambitions and their actual capabilities. The present nuclear forces of China are means that they use to threaten the small countries and pose a "retaliatory deterrence" to large countries that have nuclear weapons. Basically, building nuclear forces is still long-range work to Beijing.

Beijing advocates using the buildup of conventional forces as the moving force. Consequently, they have attached importance to the manufacture of conventional weapons, including those weapons that can be used as means to deliver bombs and nuclear warheads, such as bombers and submarines.

In their line on building up the armed forces, Beijing still attaches importance to large numbers of troops, considering this to be their main strength. However, they must realize that the Chinese army of today has basic weaknesses: internal division and a decline in morale following the pervasive troubles at home and the war of aggression against Vietnam and the very inferior level of scientific and technological development. As a result, Beijing has decided to intensify the effort to cram politics into the heads of Chinese officers and soldiers, especially their great China chauvinism. On the other hand, they have been making every effort to accelerate training in order to raise technological development to a level suited to the conditions of modern war and increase the knowledge of science and technology as well as the ability to use modern weapons and equipment within the Chinese army.

While continuing to stress the role of man in war, they are emphasizing the special importance of technical weapons and equipment in modern war. However, in this field, they are encountering difficult problems due to the fact that the country's level of scientific and technological development is, generally speaking, still very low. Due to the aftereffects of the "cultural revolution," the overall cultural level of the youths of China has been set back by decades. This is a situation that Beijing will find difficult to improve for many years to come.

Beijing is making every effort to stabilize and strengthen its war rear area. China is large and has a large population but its economy is still backward; China occupies a strategic geographical position in Asia and has advantages in its favor for achieving expansionist ambitions but China can also be easily attacked in retaliation, especially at vital places, such as the industrial region in the northeast and the Beijing and Thien Tan political-industrial center. In addition, its rear area is disrupted politically and is often threatened by civil war.

Beijing is working hard to build its war rear area for both a conventional war and a nuclear war. On the basis of China geographical characteristics, Beijing has advocated fighting a protracted war against stronger opponents in case of a conventional war or a nuclear war.

Mao Zedong set forth the guideline: "Making active preparations for war, digging deep trenches and stockpiling food." The essence of this viewpoint is the making of frantic preparations for every type of war in order to achieve the objective of becoming ruler of the world, regardless of how long a war might last.

Beijing has attached special importance to building the border provinces into springboards for a border war, a war of aggression. They are actively building their provinces on the southern and northern borders and directing their energies toward the Soviet Union and Vietnam. At the same time, they are building Tay Tang into a springboard for intimidating India and expanding into Southwest Asia.

In economic construction, Beijing is pursuing the course of militarization, accelerating the construction of industrial areas supporting the manufacture of nuclear weapons and "vanguard" weapons and constructing strategic areas for the testing and deployment of these weapons, such as the Thanh Hai and Tan Cuong areas. At the same time, Beijing is attaching importance to developing the primary conventional weapons industries, such as the production of combat aircraft, tanks, helicopters, artillery and warships, and is trying to purchase a number of modern weapons from the West to use as models in their own manufacture. This is a heavy, formidable burden to a distressed Chinese economy that is lurching from one phase of "adjustment" to another. Limited capabilities cannot satisfy the insane ambitions of Zhongnanhai Palace. The more it follows the United States down the course of the arms race disguised as the "modernization of national defense," Beijing will become ever more deeply mired in a comprehensive crisis.

In the face of the worsening economic situation and in order to allay the dissatisfaction of the people and deceive the world, Beijing is forced to talk about reducing the size of its army and reducing its military budget. However, according to western opinion, the military budget still constitutes the "lion's share" of China's national budget; military expenditures outside the budget are very large. Recently, instead of saying that "world war is unavoidable," Beijing changed its tune and began talking about peace. This is nothing more than a piece of deception. In actuality, Beijing is continuing to accelerate military modernization, making active preparations for a large-scale war, pursuing the policy of setting the United States and the Soviet Union against one another in order to "sit atop the mountain and watch the two tigers fight," pursuing the policy of fomenting "rebellion" in the world and continuing to provide military aid to Pakistan, to the Afghanistan rebels and the remnants of the Pol Pot army, thereby creating a tense situation everywhere and igniting the flames of war wherever they can.

Beijing is pursuing the scheme of promoting the establishment of the "Washington-Tokyo-Beijing" axis with a view toward opposing the Soviet Union, opposing Vietnam and opposing the three revolutionary currents in the world. They hope that a powerful Chinese army that has been given teeth and claws by the United States, Japan and the countries of NATO will become an army that is "invincible in the

world." This is something that requires that mankind be extremely vigilant. However, given the present balance of power, Beijing cannot easily realize its ambition.

Due to its reactionary political line, China is becoming increasingly mired in a comprehensive crisis, one that extends from a crisis of confidence to economic chaos and to pervasive political infighting. On the other hand, the relations between China and its "new friends," the United States, Japan and western Europe, have not been smooth relations at all times, rather, they are filled with contradictions. These are relations between "persons who appear united but who hold widely differing views" and who are taking advantage of one another on the basis of a so called "similarity of strategic interests."

On the basis of the factors presented above, we clearly see that China's military strategy has been born at a time when the rulers in Zhongnanhai Palace are "unable to do what they desire." This strategy reveals the expansionist and big power hegemonist nature of Beijing, embodies many contradictions that are difficult to resolve and, therefore, will inevitable meet with bankruptcy in the face of the awakening of the people of China and in the face of the strong offensive position of the three revolutionary currents in the world.

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